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Critical Examination
OF THE
HOLY GOSPELS

ACCORDING TO

St. MATTHEW and St. LUKE,

With REGARD to the

HISTORY

OF THE

BIRTH *and* INFANCY

OF OUR

Lord JESUS CHRIST.

By the AUTHOR *of the* Vindication *of the*
History *of the* Septuagint.

Magna est Veritas, et prævalebit.

L O N D O N:

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The Vindication of the History of the Septuagint.





T H E

P R E F A C E.

 HE Design of the following Essay being to settle a Point in Chronology, about which the Learned, even to this Day, are greatly divided; and by that Means to vindicate Two of our Sacred and divinely-inspired Writers from a Charge of Inconsistency with one another,

and with themselves ; I shall here only take the Liberty to premise some few Particulars, which possibly may help to enable some of my Readers to peruse them with the more Ease and Satisfaction.

AND, first, I desire it may be observed, That the Year which I make use of is the *Roman* or *Julian* Year, commencing the First Day of *January* ; and that the *Æra*, which I have generally chosen to reckon from, is That of the *City* of *Rome* according to the *Varronian* Account; and as *Petavius*, in his excellent Work *De Doctrina Temporum*, has adjusted and fixed the same.

THAT I have, as much as possible, avoided making use of any of
the

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the other subordinate *Æra's* frequently mentioned by other Writers on this Subject, such as the *Anni Juliani*; the *Anni Augusti*, &c. because to make use of many, where one will fully answer every Purpose, is, if I may be allowed to speak upon my own Experience, more apt to perplex than to assist the Generality of Readers.

THAT I have wholly omitted to make any Use of the *Julian Period*; which consists of 7980 Years; and is produced by the Multiplication of 28 the *Cycle* of the *Sun*, into 19 the *Cycle* of the *Moon*, and the Product of them into 15, the *Roman Indiction*. For tho' there are sufficient Reasons in Astronomy, to induce us to make Use of a Period

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resulting from the Two first of these Numbers multiplied into one another ; yet I know of no good Reason why we should enlarge the same, by compounding the Product of them with another Number, which was arbitrary in its first Institution, and which has no Relation to, or Connexion with, either of the other Two. And as I have long been of this Opinion, I have lately had the Satisfaction to observe that I am not singular therein.

BUT if, notwithstanding, any Person should be inclined to adjust any Year of the City of *Rome*, to the Years of any other Period, he may easily do it, by observing, That according to our Vulgar Account, Our Saviour was born on
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the 25th Day of *December*, *An. U. C.* 753. That the First Year of our Vulgar *Æra* commences on the First Day of *January*, next after the said 25th Day of *December*; and is therefore concurrent with the 754th Year of *Rome*; and that the 46th *Julian* Year, the 44th Year of *Augustus*, reckoning from the First of *January*, next after the Murder of *Julius Cæsar*; and the 4714th Year of the *Julian* Period, are likewise concurrent with the 754th Year of *Rome*. And also that the First Year of the 195th Olympiad commences at or about the Summer Solstice in the same Year of *Rome*.

I MUST likewise take the Liberty to acquaint the Reader, That I have passed by several Objections,
both

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both as to the Year, and as to the Time of the Year, in which I have been induced to fix the Birth of our Blessed Saviour : Not because they are unanswerable, but because they either deserve no Answer, or have been long since fully answered by others. As for Instance ; *Sca- liger*, who places the Birth of our Lord in the 751st Year of *Rome*, thought by calculating the Courses of the Priests who waited Weekly, and by Turns, in the Temple, he had demonstrably proved, That *John the Baptist* was born in *April*, and our Saviour, by consequence, in the following *October* : But all his Arguments upon this Head have been long since solidly confuted, both by his learned *Antagonist*, and by our own excellent *Selden*. This, I presume, the Learned Author of
the

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the *Two Dissertations upon the Birth and Death of Christ*, lately published, could not be ignorant of; and, therefore, I am the more surprized to see, That he should take so much Pains to revive it, and to accommodate it anew to his own Hypothesis. For, not to insist upon *Scaliger's* as well as his gross Mistake, in asserting that the Observation of the 25th Day of *December* in the Church, for the Holy Nativity, was founded on this Mistake, That *Zacharias*, the Father of *John the Baptist*, was the High Priest, and by Virtue of his Office was in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, offering Incense on the great Day of Atonement, &c. I say, not to insist upon this and some other Mistakes of the like Nature, it must, surely, be but a very sorry sort of an Argument,

gument, that can be fitted to Two such different Hypotheses, as that of *Scaliger*, who places the Birth of the Son of God in the 751st Year of *Rome*; and that of this Learned Author, who contends for the 747th Year. Nay, I will venture to add one Thing more, which, perhaps, will give him a meaner Opinion, either of this *Argument*, or of his own *System*, than he is yet aware of. For, If the main Principle which he argues from may be depended upon; to wit, *That the Priests of the Course of Joia-rib were in waiting, when the Temple was burnt by Titus*; I think a very good Argument might be drawn from thence, not only in favour of the Year of *Rome* that I have fixed upon; but likewise in favour of the several Days on which
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the Christian Church has always celebrated the Nativity of *John the Baptist*, and of our *Blessed Lord*. For if the Temple was burnt on the 5th Day of *August*, *An. U. C.* 823. as all Sides agree; and if the Course of *Joiarib* was then in waiting, as our Learned Author says it was; then it follows necessarily, That this Course entered into waiting but the Day before, *viz.* on the 4th Day of *August*, which fell out on a *Saturday* that Year; and, consequently, that the same Course entered likewise into waiting on *Saturday* the 15th of *July*, *An. U. C.* 749. and that the Course of *Abiah* entered into waiting on *Saturday* the 2^d of *September* following, and ended on the 8th of the same Month, *An. U. C.* 749. And if so, I would be glad to know what
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there is in these Courses, that should hinder us from placing the Birth of *John the Baptist*, and also that of our Blessed Lord, in the 750th Year of *Rome*? Or, What there is in them, that should hinder us from placing the Birth of the former on the 24th Day of *June*, and that of our Blessed Lord on the 25th Day of *December*, *An. U. C.* 750? If there is any Weight in the Argument drawn from the Courses of the Priests, when taken singly and separately by itself, does it not conclude at least as strongly for our System, as for any other? If the Argument drawn from the Consideration of the Weekly Courses of the Priests is equally capable of being applied, either in Support of, or in Opposition to, the constant Practice and Belief of the Christian Church;

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Church ; to which of them will our Learned Author say it ought to be most properly applied ?

I CAN at present recollect but one Thing more, which calls for an Apology. I own I am but a *Layman* ; of mean and indifferent Parts at best ; and only of a middling Rank in Life ; and frequently engaged in Business of a very different Nature. And, therefore, if I should be taxed with Presumption, for invading the Province of the *Reverend Clergy* ; I have only this to say for myself ; That since we have been told by a *Gentleman*, who cannot be suspected of any *Want of Concern* for the *true Honour and Interest* of that *Venerable Body* ; that *those* of the *Clergy* who are endued with the *finest* Parts,

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Parts, and who are the most *accomplished Scholars*, may employ their Time *more profitably* in the *Study* of the *Mathematicks*, or of the *Heathen Historians*, *Poets*, *Orators*, and *Philosophers*, than in attempting to surmount the *Difficulties* and *Discouragements* which attend the *Study* of the *Scriptures*; I hope no Man, whose *Zeal* for *Polite Literature* has not *devoured* all his *Regard* for the *Sacred Writings*, will be offended, that I, who have not the Honour to be one of that learned Body, and who know not how to employ my *Leisure Hours* better, should have spent some of them in writing the following *Dissertation*.

ERRATA in the NOTES.

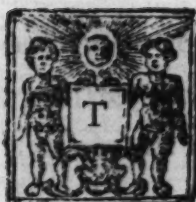
Page 28. line 4. read ὑπο. P. 31. l. 21. r. Duodecennem.
P. 78. l. 17. r. Græco-Romanæ. P. 123. l. 16, 17. r. Χριστιανῶν
σφοδρότατον.



A

Critical Examination
OF THE
HOLY GOSPELS

ACCORDING TO

St. MATTHEW and St. LUKE, &c.

HERE is scarcely any Thing in History, about which the Learned are more divided, than about the True Year of the Birth of our *Blessed Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST*. According to the Vulgar Account, He was born on the 25th Day of *December*, in the 753^d Year of the City of *Rome*. But *Marianus Scotus, Sigonius, Onuphrius, Temporarius*, and others, think, his Birth ought to

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be placed *An. U. C.* 752. *Baronius, Scaliger, Pererius, Calvisius*, and *Ubbo Emmius*, place it *An. U. C.* 751. *Sulpitius Severus* places it *An. U. C.* 750. *Decker, Petavius, Pezron*, and many others, declare for the Year 749. *Kepler, Pagi*, and *Noris*, contend for the Year 748. And a late Author of our own has endeavoured to prove, That it must necessarily be placed in the Year 747. And consonant to these several Opinions, it follows,

	<i>An. U. C.</i>		<i>Yrs. M. D.</i>	
That they who place the Birth of CHRIST on the 25th of Decem- ber,	753	Must admit that on the 19th Day of <i>August, An. U. C.</i> 781. (when <i>Ti- berius</i> enter'd into the 15th Year of his Reign) He was	27 7 25	} Old.
	752		28 7 25	
	751		29 7 25	
	750		30 7 25	
	749		31 7 25	
	748		32 7 25	
	747		33 7 25	

Now they who reject the Vulgar Account, do it for this plain Reason among many others : We are assured by *St. Matthew*, That *Christ* was born some Time at least before the Death of *Herod* the Great ; but from the best Accounts that we have of the Life and Death of that Prince, we have sufficient Reason to believe that he died before the 753d Year of *Rome* ; and, consequently, that *Christ* must have

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have been born likewise before that Year. And if to the Testimony of *St. Matthew* we may be allowed to add that of *St. Luke*, (and I know of no Reason why we may not) it will afford us another Argument not only against the Vulgar Account, but even against most of those which the above-mentioned Writers have attempted to substitute in its Room. For, according to *St. Luke*^a, *John the Baptist* began his Ministry in the 15th Year of *Tiberius Cæsar*; and Christ, among the rest of the People, went down to *Jordan*, and was there baptized by him, being then about 30 Years of Age: Now, if Christ was about 30 Years of Age in the 15th Year of *Tiberius Cæsar*; then, in my humble Opinion, they who place his Birth in the 753^d or 752^d, or in the 749th, 748th, or 747th Year of *Rome*; and who, by Consequence, make him to have been several Years under or above the Age of 30 Years, at the Time of his Baptism, must be proportionably mistaken in the true Year of his Birth.

I AM sensible, That several of those who, for other Reasons, have assigned the Nativity of our Blessed Lord to one or other of the

^a Luke iii. 1—23.

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above-mentioned earlier or later Years, have endeavoured to reconcile St. *Luke's Account* to their own *particular Systems*, by supposing that the Words, *About Thirty Years of Age*, may be understood to mean any Age from 27 to 33 Years. And I know likewise, that some others of them, who look upon such a Latitude as inconsistent with the Propriety even of common Speech, have endeavoured to account for St. *Luke's Words*, by supposing that *Tiberius* was associated into the Empire about Three Years before the Death of *Augustus*; and that St. *Luke* reckons the Years of *Tiberius's* Reign from that Time. And so far it must be allowed that they have treated the Sacred Records of our common Religion, if not with all the Respect and Reverence due to them, yet, at least, with tolerable Decency. And I heartily wish, for the Honour of our own Country, that I could say the same of the Learned Author of *the Two Dissertations upon the true Years of the Birth and of the Death of Christ*, published about Four Years ago, and dedicated to a *Right Reverend and Most Learned Prelate of our Church*. For, if I rightly understand this Gentleman's Hypothesis, I think he takes it for granted, That St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* were liable to some Mistakes as well as other Historians; and,

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and, consequently, that their Testimony cannot be intirely depended upon, as to every individual Circumstance which they mention, with regard to the History of the Infancy of our Blessed Lord. And upon this Supposition, I presume, it must have been, that he takes the Liberty, towards the Close of his Dedication, to tell his Patron, *That he hopes no Man, whose Zeal has not devoured all his Understanding, will be offended with a Critical Examination, even of the Sacred Historians, when they appear in some Circumstances inconsistent with one another, or with themselves.*

THE Sacred Historians inconsistent with one another, and with themselves! I hope my Zeal has not yet quite devoured all my Understanding; and yet, I must confess, I cannot help being greatly offended at such an Insinuation. Nay, I cannot but charitably think, that the least Suspicion of Inconsistency in such Writers must be extremely shocking to every Christian Ear. The Holy Evangelist *St. Matthew* was One of the Twelve Apostles, and he was endued with the Gifts of the Holy Ghost^b, and, therefore, was qualified beyond all

^b Acts i. 8.

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Exception, to be a Witness for, and to write the Life of, his dear *Lord* and *Master*. And the *intimate Companion* of the Great *Apostle* of the *Gentiles* not only had sufficient Opportunities of learning every Thing from those who from the Beginning were Eye-Witnesses, and Ministers of the Word ; but he farther assures us, That the Knowledge of the Things which he has recorded touching the Life and Acts of the Blessed *Jesus*, was likewise given him *from above* ^c. Upon what Grounds then, or with what Reason, can any Man pretend

^c The Reason which St. *Luke* gives, in the Introduction, for writing his Gospel, seems to me to lose much of its Strength and Cogency in our *English* Translation. For, if many others had taken in hand to set forth in Order such a Declaration of those Things which were most surely believed among them, as those who had been Eye-Witnesses, and Ministers of the Word, had delivered unto them, what Occasion, one may say, was there for him, if he had no other Authority but Tradition, and the Information of others, to write the same Things in Order again ? I do, therefore, rather think, that the Words might be better translated thus : *Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in Order a Declaration of those Things which are most surely believed among us ; even as they who from the Beginning were Eye-Witnesses, and Ministers of the Word, delivered them to us ; it seemed good to me also, who have likewise been perfectly instructed in every Thing from above, (ἀνωθεν, from Heaven, or by Revelation) to write unto thee in Order, most excellent Theophilus.* Here we have a plain and substantial Reason given, why St. *Luke* wrote his Gospel. St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* had both wrote their Gospels some Years before this ; and St. *John* wrote his Gospel several Years after : But as it did not come within the Design either of the Two former, or of the last, to mention many

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pretend to charge such Writers with *Inconsistency*, or *Contradiction* to one another, or to themselves ! May we not reasonably hope, *That no Weapon, no Criticism, formed against such Historians as these, shall prosper ; and that every Tongue that shall rise up in Judgment against them shall be condemned & ?*

I WOULD not be understood by this, as if I undervalued, or meant to decry, all Criticism in general. Criticism in skilful Hands,

many important Particulars relating to the Life of Christ, and of his Fore-runner *John the Baptist*, it is probable that several others, upon the Strength of Tradition and human Testimony only, might have attempted to give a fuller Account of the Miraculous Birth, Life, and Actions of both, than St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* had done : And therefore St. *Luke*, well knowing that in Matters of so high and mysterious a Nature, no mere human Pen could be wholly exempted from Error, tells his *Theophilus*, not only that he will give him such an Account of those Things, as he had received them from others, but likewise in such a Manner, and in such Terms, as he had received it from the Spirit of God himself ; and upon which, therefore, (together with that of the other Evangelists) not only he, but all other Christians in all Ages to come, might infallibly depend. The chief Difference therefore between the Vulgar Translation and mine lies in the Sense and Meaning of the Word *ἀνθεν*, As to which I think I am sufficiently warranted from *John* iii. 3. *Ἐάν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἀνθεν*—— Ver. 7. *Δεῖ ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἀνθεν*—— Ver. 31. *ὁ ἀνθεν ἐρχόμενος*. James i. 17. *Πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ*——*ἀνθεν ἐστὶ*. Ch. iii. 15. *Ἡ σοφία ἀνθεν κατερχομένη*, &c. In all which Places it is used in the same Sense as I have translated it here. See *Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. Lib. iii. Cap. 24. Pag. 94—96. Edit. Par. 1659.*

* *Isaiah* liv. 17.

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and rightly applied, is, most assuredly, of great and excellent Use towards ascertaining the true Reading, and literal Interpretation, of the Sacred Writers. And when they fall into such Hands, the more Critical the Examination is, the more it will be found to discover their Excellence, and to illustrate their Beauties. Neither would I be thought to reflect upon any of those great and learned Men who have hitherto obliged the World with the Result of their Studies upon the present Subject. *Baronius, Scaliger, Peta-vius, Pezron, Kepler, Pagi, and Noris, &c.* were all Men of great and distinguish'd Parts. In all their Writings they expressly own and recognize the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures; and their Memory ought, and, I hope, always will be held in the greatest Honour by all those who have any Love for Letters. And tho' they may have been mistaken in some Points, (and who can be secure from Error in all Things?) I shall always chuse to ascribe their Oversights rather to the Extensiveness of their Learning, and to the Ambition which they had of excelling almost in every Branch of Knowledge, than to the Want of Inclination or Ability to exhaust any one particular Subject; could they have prevailed upon themselves to have bestowed a
sufficient

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sufficient Portion of their Time upon it. It is only *such Proud and Conceited Criticks*, as would exalt their own Imaginations above all that is Sacred and Divine, whom I would fain caution all honest and ingenuous Minds to beware of. Such *Criticks* as view and measure every Thing by the *narrow, cloudy, and confused Ideas* of their own *Imaginations*; and who apply their Parts and Learning to the *Scriptures*, as some Astronomers do their Glasses to the *Sun*; not with a View of gaining a clearer Insight into the Nature of Light; but only in hopes of discovering Spots and Blemishes in his Glorious and All-luminous Body.

It would be an endless Work to examine each of the foregoing Systems separately; and, therefore, I shall take a shorter, and, as I am willing to flatter myself, a more satisfactory Way. For, *1st*, From certain Circumstances mentioned by *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*, relating to the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, compared with the best and most authentick Histories of those Times, I shall endeavour to fix the true Time of his Birth. *2^{dly}*, Upon the Supposition that our Blessed Saviour was born at the Time which I shall fix upon, I shall endeavour to shew, not only that in every
Circumstance

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Circumstance relating to his Birth and Infancy, the Sacred Historians are perfectly consistent with one another and with themselves ; but that, in Truth, they have advanced nothing in relation to either, that can be made appear to be any ways inconsistent with any other authentick History whatsoever. And, *3dly* and lastly, As the Arguments which are commonly alledged in behalf of the other Systems, will be naturally looked upon and considered as so many Objections to that which I shall fix upon, I shall endeavour to give such Solutions and Answers to them, as, I hope, will intirely satisfy every candid and impartial Inquirer after Truth.

To begin with the First : According to the Holy Evangelist St. *Matthew* ^e, our Saviour *Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the Days of Herod the King. And when the Wise Men, who had seen his Star in the East, came to worship him that was born King of the Jews, Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And when he had gathered all the chief Priests and Scribes of the People together, he demanded of them, Where Christ should be born? And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea.——Then*

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Herod, when he had privily called the Wise Men, inquired of them diligently what Time the Star appeared. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go, and search diligently for the young Child; and when ye have found him, bring me Word again, that I may come and worship him also. And when they had heard the King, they departed; and, lo, the Star which they saw in the East went before them, till it came and stood over where the young Child was.— And when they were come into the House, they saw the young Child with Mary his Mother, and fell down and worshipped him: And when they had opened their Treasures, they presented unto him Gifts, Gold, and Frankincense, and Myrrh. And being warned of God in a Dream, that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own Country another Way.— And Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the Wise Men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth and slew all the Children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the Coasts thereof, from Two Years old and under, according to the Time which he had diligently inquired of the Wise Men. Now, from this Account of St. Matthew, nothing is more evident, than that our Blessed Lord must have been born some Time before the Death of
Herod:

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Herod: And therefore, in order to find out the Year beyond which his Birth cannot be placed, we must in the first Place endeavour, from the best Lights that History affords, to fix the true Time of this Prince's Death. And for this Purpose I shall take the Liberty to offer the following Observations:

1. *JOSEPHUS*, an Historian ^f every way qualified to be our Guide in this Inquiry, informs us ^g, That *Herod*, by the joint Interest of *Mark Antony* and *Octavius Caesar*, was first declared King of the *Jews* by the *Roman Senate*, in the Consulship of *C. Domitius Calvinus*, and *C. Asinius Pollio*. And consonant hereto, *Scaliger* ^h, and *Petavius* ⁱ, the

^f According to *Eusebius*, *Josephus* is *Dignus omnino cui fides habeatur*; *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 9.* According to *Scaliger*, He is *Diligentissimus & φιλαληθής αὐτός omnium Scriptorum*; *Prolegom. ad Emendat. Temp. p. 16.* And according to *Petavius*, *Ad Epocham Herodis patefaciendam nobis facem præfert Josephi præstantissimi Scriptoris historia; qui unus Herodis Initia, Resq; gestas, fidelissime perscripsit; De Doct. Temp. lib. x. c. 67. Scriptis autem Josephi, quoad res Herodianas, nulla subesse potest erroris suspicio; ubique enim secum coheret; ita ut nemo eum arguere posset erroris, (propriū dico, nam in altero aut aliquo loco patet Codices ejus Amanuensium socordiā esse corruptos) quin ipse incidat in manifestos Errores, ut contigit Baronio & aliis; Lamy Appar. Chronol. c. ix. §. 1. p. 64.*

^g *Antiq. Jud. l. xiv. c. 14. p. 647—649. Ed. Ox. 1720.*

^h *De Emendatione Temporum, l. v. p. 450—452. Ed. Gen. 1629.*

ⁱ *De Doctrina Temporum, l. x. c. 67. Ed. Antwerp. 1795.*

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Two great Restorers of *Chronology*, place this remarkable Event in the 714th Year of the City of *Rome*. And Cardinal *Noris*, another Writer of the first Rank in this Sort of Studies, goes further, and fixes it in or about the Month of *October* in the same Year ^k.

2. THE same Noble Historian further informs us, That *Herod* and *Sofius* laid Siege to, and at last took, *Jerusalem*, and with it *Antigonus*, the last of the *Asmonean* Princes, during the Consulship of *Marcus Agrippa*, and *Caninius Gallus*, in a *Sabbatical Year*, in the Summer-Time ; and 126 Years after the *Asmonean* Family had obtained the Government

^k De Cenotaph. Pisanis, Dissert. ii. cap. 6. p. 135---141. It is true, That according to our present Edition of *Josephus*, we read likewise that this happened in the 184th Olympiad. But as this learned Writer's Reasons for the Time which he here fixes upon, seem to me to be decisive ; I think it must necessarily be admitted, either that *Josephus* was mistaken as to the Olympiads, tho' he is right with regard to the Consuls ; or else that his Transcribers have, by Mistake, copied επδ' for επε ; or, that *Josephus* himself, by saying that this Affair fell out επι της εκατοσνης η ογδονκοσνης η τελεσης' Ολυμπιάδος, must be understood to mean after the Expiration of the 184th Olympiad : And this, considering that he reckons here only by the Olympiads in the gross, and without distinguishing any Particular Year, may possibly be the most natural Meaning of his Words. Or, lastly, perhaps, the *Jews* and *Syrians*, who began their Civil Years from Autumn, reckoned the Olympiads likewise from the same Time : And, in that Case, the first Three Months of the 185th Olympiad, according to the *Greek* Way of Computation,

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vernment of *Judea*¹. Now it being certain, that *Marcus Agrippa*, and *Caninius Gallus*, were Consuls *An. U. C.* 717^m; it follows, That *Herod* and *Sosius* took *Jerusalem* in or about the Month of *June* or *July*, *An. U. C.* 717. And that this very Summer made a Part of a *Jewish Sabbatical Year*, and compleated the 126th Year of the Reign of the Princes of the *Asmonean Family*, may be proved thus: 1. It is universally agreed, that the *Jews* always began and computed their Sabbatical Years from one Autumn to anotherⁿ. 2. It is likewise known, that the *Æra* of the *Seleucidae*, according to the Computation of the *Greeks*, began from the *Autumn* of the first Year of the 117th Olympiad, and of the 442^d Year of the City of *Rome*^o. 3. It is also agreed, that the Author of the Second Book of the *Maccabees* computes the Years of the *Greeks* from Autumn, in the same Manner as the *Greeks* themselves did; and that the Au-

putation, would be the last Three Months of the 184th Olympiad, according to the *Jewish* and *Syrian* Way of Reckoning.

¹ *Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 16. p. 657—659.*

^m *Ex Scaligero & Petavio, ut supra.*

ⁿ *Noris de Anno & Epochis Syro-Maced. Dissert. ii. Cap. i.*

^o *Scaliger de Emend. Temp. lib. v. De Anno Alexandro Judæorum, p. 429, 430. Petavius de Doct. Temp. lib. x. c. 45.*

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thor of the First Book of the *Maccabees* begins the same *Era* from the preceding Spring, according to the *Hebrew* Custom. Hence it appears, 4. That the 149th Year of the *Era* of the *Greeks*, according to the *Greek* Way of Computation, commenced in Autumn, *An. U. C.* 590 ; and also, that the 150th Year of the *Greeks*, according to the *Hebrew* Way of Computation, commenced in Spring, *An. U. C.* 591. 5. From the First Verse of the 13th Chapter of the Second Book of the *Maccabees* it appears, That *Antiochus Eupator* came with a great Power into *Ju-dea*, in the 149th Year of the *Greeks*, according to the *Greek* Way of Computation ; and from the 20th Verse of the 6th Chapter of the First Book of the *Maccabees*, it appears likewise, That the same Expedition was undertaken in the 150th Year of the *Greeks*, according to the *Hebrew* Way of Computation : And therefore it necessarily follows, That this Expedition was undertaken and carried on between the Spring and Autumn of the 591st Year of the City of *Rome*. 6. From the 49th and 53^d Verses of the 6th Chapter of the First Book of the *Maccabees* we learn, That this Expedition of *Antiochus Eupator* was made and carried on in a *Sabbatical* Year ; and, therefore, since all *Sabbatical* Years began

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began and ended in Autumn, it necessarily follows, That from Autumn, *An. U. C.* 590, to Autumn, *An. U. C.* 591, was a *Sabbatical* Year with the *Jews*. 7. From the latter Part of the 6th Chapter of the First Book of the *Maccabees*, compared with the 24th Verse of the 13th Chapter of the Second Book of the *Maccabees*, it appears, That in the same Summer, *An. U. C.* 591. *Antiochus Eupator* struck up a Peace with the *Jews*; agreed to suffer them to live under their own Laws; and appointed *Judas Maccabeus* Principal Governor from *Ptolemais* to the *Ger-rhenians*. From this Time, therefore, count 126 Years forwards, which is the Number of Years that *Josephus* says the *Asmonean* Princes ruled over the *Jews*; and it will bring us down to the Summer of the 717th Year of *Rome*: A *Sabbatical* Year commencing in Autumn, *An. U. C.* 716; and the very Time that *Antigonus*, the last of the *Asmonean* Princes, was besieged by *Sosius*, and soon after taken, and put to an ignominious Death, by *Mark Antony* ⁹. I know very well that *Dio* places this

⁹ *Josephus* (*Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 16. p. 658, 659.*) observes, That *Herod* and *Sosius* took *Jerusalem* in the Consulship of *Marcus Agrippa* and *Caninius Gallus*, (*An. U. C.* 717.) in the Third Month, and on a Fast-Day: And he further observes, That *Pompey* took the same City, on the same

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this Event under the Consulship of *Clau-
dius* and *Norbanus*, *An. U. C.* 716. But
no Man, I hope, whose Zeal for some fa-
vourite System or other has not *strongly bi-
assed* (not to say *quite devoured*) his *Under-
standing*, will prefer the single Testimony of
a much later Writer, and who only mentions
the Thing in a very cursory Manner, to that
of *Josephus*, supported and confirmed by such
peculiar and *distinguishing Characters* as I
have here mentioned.

same Fast-Day, Twenty-seven Years before. But in ano-
ther Place, where he gives an Account of the Taking of
Jerusalem by *Pompey* more at large, (*Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 4.
p. 614.*) he tells us, That *Pompey* took it in the Third
Month, and on a Fast-Day, and in the Consulship of *Caius
Antonius* and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* (*An. U. C.* 691.). Now,
since the Consuls determine the Years beyond all Dispute;
if we may be allowed to say with *Scaliger*, (*De Emend. Temp.
pag. 451. Edit. Colon.*) That Transcribers have by Mistake
wrote $\kappa\zeta$ instead of $\kappa\varsigma$; that is, That they have copied 27
Years instead of 26: Or, if we may be allowed to say,
with Archbishop *Usher*, That here $\mu\epsilon\tau' \epsilon\tau\eta \epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta$
may be understood in the same Sense as $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha} \tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$
in *St. Mark* (Chap. viii. 31.) which *St. Matthew* (Chap.
xvi. 21.) more clearly expresses by the Words $\tau\eta \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$;
or as the Phrase $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha} \delta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\eta \delta\upsilon\omicron$ used by *Josephus* himself
(*De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 13. p. 986.*) is elsewhere (*Antiq.
lib. xiv. c. 13. p. 643.*) expressed by him thus $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha \delta\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$. I say, if we may be allowed either to correct the
Numerals in *Josephus*, or to put this favourable Construc-
tion upon his Words, and I do not see why we may not
do the one or the other; then this will be a further Con-
firmation that we have rightly placed the Taking of *Jeru-
salem* by *Herod* and *Sofius*, in the 717th Year of Rome:
One Thing, however, I think, I may venture to affirm,
without any Hesitation, That the Third Month in which
Pompey and *Herod* are said to have taken *Jerusalem*,

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3. IF it were necessary to bring more Proofs to shew, that *Herod* took Possession of *Judea*, in or about the Month of *June* or *July*, *An. U.C.* 717. I might farther observe, that, according to *Josephus*, this *Epocha* suits perfectly well with the Time in which the Battle of *Actium* was fought; viz. on the 2^d of *September*, *An. U.C.* 723^r, and in the 7th Year of *Herod*^s; with the Time of the great Famine, which happened in *Judea*, during the Time that *Petronius* governed *Egypt*^t, *An. U.C.* 729 and 730, and in the 13th Year of the same Prince; and with the Time that *Au-*

is neither to be reckoned from the Beginning of the Civil or Ecclesiastical Year of the *Jews*, but from the Beginning of each of the Sieges respectively: For *Josephus* himself expressly reckons the Third Month of *Pompey's* Siege from the Beginning thereof, τρίτῳ μηνὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, *Obsidionis Mense Tertio*, (*De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 7. p. 972.*) And since the City was taken by both on one and the same Fast-Day, the Three Months of *Herod's* Siege can therefore be no otherwise computed but from the Beginning thereof likewise. And therefore *Bishop Usher* was greatly mistaken in supposing, That the Three Months of *Herod's* Siege are to be reckoned from the Autumnal Equinox, and that he did not take *Jerusalem* till *December*, *An. U.C.* 717. And besides, this most learned Writer did not observe, That by placing the Taking the City so late in the *Roman* Year, he carries the whole Transaction beyond the Limits of the Sabbatical Year, contrary to *Josephus's* express Words.

^r Dio, lib. li. p. 442.

^s Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 5. p. 673.

^t Dio, l. liii. p. 512. compared with *Strabo*, l. xvii. p. 319. and *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xv. c. 9. p. 691, 692.

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gustus visited *Syria* : viz. in the Spring of the 734th Year of *Rome* ^v, and the 17th of *Herod* ^w. But after what has been already said, I hope I may be excused from enlarging upon such Particulars.

4. HAVING thus fixed the Time of *Herod's* Accession to the Throne of *Judea*, the Time of his Death may be easily found thus : *Josephus*, in the First Book of his *Wars* of the *Jews* ^x, and again in the Seventeenth Book of his *Antiquities* ^y, assures us, That *Herod* reigned 34 Years after *Antigonus*, (who was put to Death in September or October, *An. U. C.* 717. *Joseph. l. xx. c. 9. p. 901.*) and 37 Years from the Time that he was declared King by the *Roman Senate*. And Sca-

^v Dio, lib. liv. p. 525.

^w Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. c. 10. p. 697.

^x De Bello Judaico, lib. i. c. 33. p. 1042. Herodes mortem obiit ; cum scilicet regnasset annos quidem Tringinta quatuor, ex quo, Antigono interfecto, rerum potitus est ; Tringinta vero Septem, ex quo Rex à Romanis declaratus est ; Βασιλεύσας αὐτῷ ἔμην ἀποκλείνας Ἀντίγονον ἐκράτησε τῶν πραγμάτων ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα· αὐτῷ ἔῃ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα.

^y Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 8. p. 770. His factis—vitam finivit, cum regnasset post interfectum Antigonom, annos 34 ; postquam autem à Romanis Rex creatus fuerat, 37 : Βασιλεύσας μετ' ὃ μὲν ἀνείλεν Ἀντίγονον, ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα· μετ' ὃ ἔῃ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδείχθη, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα. See Josippon, lib. vi. c. 61. p. 267. Dies autem quibus Rex Herodes regnavit super universum populum Judæ, fuerunt Anni Tringinta Septem.

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liger rightly observes ², that the Years here mentioned by *Josephus* must be understood to be complete Years. Therefore, from the Autumn, *A.U.C.* 714. the Time about which *Herod* was declared King at *Rome*, count 37 Years forward : Or, from the Autumn, *An. U.C.* 717. the Time about which *Antigonus*, the last of the *Asmonean* Princes, was put to Death, count 34 Years forwards ; and it will bring us down to Autumn, *An. U. C.* 751. Which clearly demonstrates, That *Herod* did not die till towards the latter End of this Year ; and if I might presume to fix the Day, I would, with the most learned Archbishop *Usher*, place it on the 25th of *November* ; which, as he says, the *Jews* therefore kept as a Day of Joy and Festivity ; *quod in eo Herodes, qui sapientes odio persecutus est, mortem obierit* ².

5. To confirm this Account, I shall produce but one Argument more ; which is this : According to *Josephus* ^b, *Philip*, the Tetrarch of *Ituraa* and *Trachonitis*, died, Εἰκοστῷ καὶ δευτέρῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίῃ ἀρχῆς, ἡγησάμενος ἐπὶ καὶ τριακοντα τῆς Τραχωνιτίδος,

² De Emend. Temp. lib. v. p. 462. Regnavit Herodes, ipso Josepho teste, annos solidos 37, ex quo declaratus Rex ; 34 vero, eosq; solidos, à captis à Sefio Hierosolymis.

^a In Annal. Vet. Testamenti, ad Annum Mundi 4001.

^b Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 5. p. 803, 804.

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&c. i. e. *Anno principatus Tiberii vicesimo secundo, ac postquam ipse præfuisset Trachonitidi, &c. Annos Septem fere ac Triginta* (for so, strictly speaking, I think the Words ought to be translated; the Participle ἡγνῶμεν being the first indefinite Tense). Now we know certainly that the 22^d Year of *Tiberius* began on the 19th Day of *August*, *An. U. C. 788.* and therefore the Death of *Philip* must have happened after that Day: And if, from the 25th of *November*, *An. U. C. 751.* we count 37 complete Years forwards, it will bring us to the 25th of *November*, *An. U. C. 788.* *Philip* therefore must of Necessity have died between the 19th of *August* and the 25th of *November*, *An. U. C. 788.* For, had he died before the 19th of *August*, *An. U. C. 788.* he could not have lived to the 22^d Year of *Tiberius's* Reign; and had he lived beyond the 25th of *November* of the same Year, he must have reigned more than 37 Years. It is true, That in all our present Copies of *Josephus*, the Death of this Prince is said to have happened in the 20th Year of *Tiberius*: But *Scaliger*^c, and *Petavius*^d, do both agree, That the 20th

^c De Emend. Temp. lib. v. p. 463.

^d In Animadvers. in Epiphan. ad Hæres. Alog. p. 124, 125.

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Year is here, by Mistake of Transcribers, put for the 22^d Year. And the learned Author of the *Two Dissertations upon the True Years of the Birth and Death of Christ*, seems not to have been aware, that by adopting of this Mistake it would follow, that *Herod* must have died in the 749th Year of *Rome*, contrary to his own Hypothesis ^e.

NAY, farther; If we should consider this Argument in another Light, and be willing to admit that *Philip* governed those Countries full Thirty-seven Years after the Death of his Father, *Herod* the Great; and that he died on the 19th of *August*, *An. U. C.* 788. the very first Day of the 22^d Year of *Tiberius*; yet still it would necessarily follow, That the Death of *Herod* the Great could not be placed before the 19th of *August*, *An. U. C.* 751. and much less could it, by any Art whatever, be carried still farther back to *March* or *November*, *An. U. C.* 750.

HAVING thus fixed the true Time of *Herod's* Death to the 751st Year of *Rome*, and most probably to the 25th Day of *November*;

^e Dissertation I. p. 37.

and

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and it necessarily following from thence, that the Birth of our Blessed Lord cannot be placed later ; the next Thing to be done is to fix the earliest Time beyond which we cannot go back, in quest of this great and mysterious Event.

THE Holy Evangelist St. *Luke* in the Third Chapter of his Gospel expressly informs us, That *in the 15th Year of the Reign of Tiberius Cæsar, John the Baptist began his Ministry* ^f: *That as he was baptizing all the People, Jesus came also, and was baptized by him* ^g: And lastly, That *Jesus himself was then about 30 Years of Age, being, as was supposed, the Son of Joseph* ^h, &c. Now, from such plain Characters as these one would think, it could not be very difficult to come pretty near to the true Time of our Saviour's Birth. But, alas! instead of adhering religiously to the plain, natural, and obvious Sense of the Blessed Evangelist's own Words, what can be more astonishing, than to see the Pains which the Learned have taken to darken and perplex them, and to accommodate them

^f Ver. 1, 3.

^g Ver. 21.

^h Ver. 23.

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to their own mistaken Notions and Opinions !

THERE is not any *Epocha* in *History* better known, or more universally agreed to, than this, That the Years of *Tiberius's* Reign were computed from the Death of *Augustus*: So *Suetonius*ⁱ ; so *Tacitus*^k ; so *Dio*^l ; so *Josephus*^m ; and so *Ptolemy* in his Chronological Canonⁿ compute them. And yet so excessively fond are Men of their own Systems and Imaginations, that we have lately seen some of the greatest and most eminent of our modern Writers, endeavouring with great Profusion of Learning to prove, That *St. Luke* computes the Years of *Tiberius Caesar*, not from the Death of *Augustus*, but from the Time that that Prince admitted him to partake of some Part of the Sovereign Power with himself^o.

WHAT

ⁱ In *Tiberio*, p. 314. Ed. Par. in Usam Delphini.

^k In *Annal.* lib. vi. p. 97. Ed. Par. in Usam Delphini.

^l Lib. lvii. p. 614. Ed. Hanov. 1606.

^m *Antiq.* lib. xviii. c. 5. p. 801. Ed. Ox. 1720. *De Bello Jud.* lib. ii. c. 9. p. 1067.

ⁿ *Petav. Rationar. Temp.* Vol. ii. p. 918. Ed. Lugd. Bat. 1710.

^o See *Tillemont's Histoire des Empereurs*, Tom. I. Vol. II. Note 4. *Sur le Commencement des Années du Règne de Tiberius.*

Vid.

WHAT Work have some of our most *esteemed Criticks* made with these Words of the same *Divine Historian* ^P ! Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὥσεί ἐτῶν τριακοντὶα ἀρχόμενος, ὧν (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, &c. How strenuously have some contended that the Particle ὥσεί ought to be understood in a *Definite*; and others in an *Indefinite Sense* ! How has it been doubted whether the Text ought to be read with the Word ἀρχόμενος, or with ἐρχόμενος ! How have some laboured to prove, that the Participles ἀρχόμενος and ὧν ought to be read together; and others that they ought to be read separate ! How has it been insisted upon by some, that the Word ἀρχόμενος relates to the Age of Christ; and by others that it relates only to the Beginning of his publick Ministry ! How stiffly have some maintained that the Import of the whole Passage is, That Jesus had completed the 30th, and was then but just entred

Vid. Bucherii *Belgium Romanum*, lib. iii. c. 3. Pezronii *Historiam Evangelicam*, Tom. i. p. 272—291. Ed. Par. 1696. 8vo.

^P See Baronius, in *Apparatu ad Annal.* p. 56, 57. Ed. Antw. 1589. Scaliger de *Emend. Temp.* lib. vi. p. 541. De Anno Natalis Domini, Ed. Gen. 1629. Petavius de *Doctrina Temporum*, lib. xii. c. 5. p. 225, 226. Ed. Antw. 1705. Pezron's *Histoire Evangelique*, &c.

into

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into the 31st Year of his Age; and others, That they import no more but that he had almost completed the 29th, and was then just going to enter into the 30th Year of his Age! How have a Third Sort laboured to prove, That the Word *ωσεν* is of such a Latitude, that it may suit with any Age within Three or Four Years over or under 30! And what can any indifferent Person conclude from such Diversity of Interpretations, but that the Authors of them were all more or less biassed by some Favourite Hypothesis or other; and, consequently, that each studied more how to accommodate the Sacred *Text* to his own System, than how to find out the true and genuine Meaning of it?

If the Reader should ask, What I take to be the plain, natural, and obvious Meaning of the Words in question? I answer, That as to the Years of *Tiberius Cæsar*, I think, if we will be guided by the plain, natural, and obvious Meaning of Words, there is no room to doubt but that St. *Luke*, as well as all the other *Greek* and *Latin Historians* of those Times, computed them from the Death of *Augustus*; and, consequently, that the 15th Year of *Tiberius* commenced on the 19th Day

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Day of *August*, *An. U. C.* 781. And as to the Words of St. *Luke*, relating to the Age of *Christ* at his *Baptism*, I am further of Opinion, That the *πρῶτον ψευδ*, the Spring and the principal Cause of all the Difficulties relating to them, arise from our mistaking the true Sense and Meaning of the Word *ἀρχόμενος*. For, while we confine it to signify *Incipiens*, as all our *Versions* do, I think it impossible either to defend the Passage as good *Greek*, or to turn it into any other Language, so as to make good Sense of it. We must, therefore, do by St. *Luke* in this Case, as we would do by any other *Greek* Author upon the like Occasion : If the Word *ἀρχόμενος*, as it signifies *incipiens*, darkens and perplexes the Sense ; we must consider in what other Sense it may be understood, so as to render the Whole more plain and intelligible. Now, to find such a Sense, methinks, we need not go very far. For as *ἀρχομαι* sometimes signifies *incipio*, *Initium facio*, *vel Initium sumo* ; so it is very well known that the same Word does often signify *Sum sub Principatu*, *seu Dominatu* ; *sum sub Imperio* ; *pareo*, *obtempero* ; and accordingly^a it has been observed^a, That the Participle *ἀρχόμενος*, without any

^a Stephani Thesaur. in Voce *Ἀρχομαι*, p. 561.

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other Addition, signifies one who is subject to, or under the Power or Command of another : And in this Sense it is used by *Herodian*^r, *Xenophon*^f, *Plato*^t, and *Josephus*^v ; not to mention many more. Wherefore, instead of the common unintelligible literal Translation, which runs thus ; *Et ipse erat Jesus quasi annorum triginta incipiens, existens, ut putabatur, filius Joseph, &c.* I am myself very clear in it, that the Passage ought to be rendered thus ; *Et ipse erat Jesus quasi annorum triginta subditus* (sc. Parentibus vel

^r Lib. vi. p. 140. Ed. Steph. 1581. Quapropter adolescentes—vulgo obtrecebant Alexandro, quod sub Matris auctoritate adhuc esset ; τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ σκωπῶν, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς τε μητρὸς ἀρχόμενον. Id. p. 143. Hunc finem habuit vitæ Alexander, una cum Matre, quum Annos quatuordecim imperâsset sine ulla Subjectorum querela, ὅσον πρὸς τῆς ἀρχομένου ἀμέμπτως.

^f De Institut. Cyri, lib. vii. p. 178. Ed. Par. 1625. Ἐνθα δὴ ἐγνώσκειν τις, ὅσον ἀξίον εἶναι τὸ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀρχοῦντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων. Tum vero perspicere potuisses, quanti sit æstimandum, Principem à Subjectis sibi diligi. Id. de Exped. Cyri, lib. viii. p. 238. Ὅι τε ἀρχόμενοι Κύρον ὡς πατέρα ἐσέβοντο, Subjecti autem Cyrum tanquam Patrem venerabantur.

^t Stephan. in Thesaur. in Voce Νεὸς ; Ἀρχεῖναι πρεσβύτερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρου, Minori parere Majorem. Plat. Cicerone Interprete.

^v Antiq. lib. xv. c. 9. p. 691. Nihilq; erat quod dignum videbatur cui opem ferret, cum jam ei ex calamitatibus conflatum esset Subditorum (τῶν ἀρχομένων) Odium.

Antiq. lib. viii. c. 10. p. 368. Συνδιαφθείρειν γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἢ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τρόποις. Ita enim comparatum est, ut cum Principum moribus Subditorum etiam mores corrumpi soleant.

Legi,

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Legi, vel utrisq;) *existens, ut putabatur, filius Joseph, &c.* That is, in English, *And Jesus was obedient, or lived in Obedience and Subjection to his Parents about 30 Years, being, as was supposed, the Son of Joseph, &c.* St. Luke had before remarked w, That the ever-blessed Jesus was subject to his Parents in his Infancy; and his profound Humility was a Lesson of such Importance to the World, that we are here assured again, that he continued subject to them, or, as St. Paul more emphatically expresses it x, that he took upon himself the Form of a Servant, even to the very Time that he entered upon his Publick Ministry y. I know not what others

w Chap. ii. 51. Καὶ ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτοῖς, et erat subditus illis.

x Philip. ii. 7. Ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν. Seipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens.

y Duos dicimus Christi habitus à Prophetis demonstratos, totidem adventus ejus prænotâsse. Unum in humilitate utiq; Primum, cum tanquam Ovis ad victimam duci habebat, et tanquam Agnus ante Tondentem sine Voce, sic non aperuit Os suum, ne aspectu quidem honestus. Annunciamus enim, inquit de illo, sicut Puerulus, sicut radix in terra sitienti, et non erat ei Species neq; Gloria. Et vidimus eum, et non habebat Speciem neq; Decorem; sed species ejus inhonorata, deficiens circa filios hominum, homo in plaga, sciens ferre infirmitatem: Scilicet ut positus à Patre in Lapidem offensionis; et minoratus ab eo modicum citra Angelos. Vermem se pronunciat, et non Hominem, Ignominiam hominis, & Abjectionem populi. Quæ ignobilitatis argumenta primo Adventui competunt: Sicut Sublimitatis, secundo; cum fiet jam non Lapis Offensionis,
nec

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others will think of this Interpretation ; but
to me it appears plain, easy, and natural.

As for the Particle *ὥστε*, which has so much
disturbed and divided the Learned ; it seems
to me plain, that according to the most na-
tural and common Sense of the Word, it
can import nothing more, but only that at
the Time of his Baptism he was in, but had
not then quite completed the 30th Year of
his Age ; or else that he had completed his
30th Year, and was then in the 31st Year of
his Age. And, with all humble Submission,
I think, if we must necessarily fix upon one
or other of these Meanings ; the last is be-
yond Comparison preferable to the other.
For, 1. I cannot but agree with *Scaliger* ²,
That it is better and more consonant to
the Practice of the best and most accurate
Writers to denominate the Age of Persons
from the Years complete, than from the cur-
rent Years of their Age. 2. We are assured
by a Writer ³, if not of equal Authority with
the

nec Petra Scandali, sed Lapis summus angularis, post Re-
probationem adsumptus, et sublimatus in Consummationem,
&c. Tertul. advers. Judæos, c. xiv. p. 200.

² De Emendatione Temporum, lib. vi. p. 547.

³ St. Ignatius in Epist. ad Trallianos, p. 167. Edit. Am-
stel. 1646. And to the Testimony of Ignatius we may add
that

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the inspired Penmen of the Scriptures, yet most certainly far superior to any that can be named on the other Side; that *Jesus*, when he came to be baptized, had lived in *Subjection and Obedience* ^b *Three Decads of Years*; *ὃς τρεῖς δεκάδας ἐτῶν πολιτευσάμενος, ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἐδοκίμησεν.* 3. We read in *St. Luke* elsewhere ^c, *And it was about the Sixth Hour, and there was a Darkness over all the Earth until the Ninth Hour.*

that of Irenæus, Contr. Hæres. lib. ii. c. 22. p. 147. Edit. Paris. 1710. Triginta quidem Annorum existens cum veniret ad Baptismum, &c. For tho' he seems to differ from all the other Fathers as to the Age of Christ, when he suffered; yet nevertheless he not only admits that Jesus was full Thirty Years old when he came to John to be baptized, but likewise gives this Reason for it; Because, according to the Law of Moses, he could not take upon himself the Office of a Master or Teacher in Israel, before he had completed that Year of his Age.

^b *Steph. Thesaur. Græc. in Voce πολιτεύομαι, p. 476. Sciendum est vero πολιτεύεσθαι dici etiam de privatis, qui in Republica versantur, et ejus legibus atq; institutis vivunt. From whence we may observe the great Exactness of St. Ignatius, where he uses a Word of the same Sense and Signification with ἀρχόμενος in the abovementioned Passage of St. Luke. Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ Θεῷ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, Act. xxiii. 1.---And herewith agrees the Author of the Apocryphal Gospel, intitled Evangelium Infantæ, § 54. Atq; ab hoc die (sc. à die quo invenit eum mater ejus in Templo dodecenniæ cum Doctoribus disputantem) Miracula, Arcana et Secreta sua oculere cæpit, et Legi operam dare, donec Annum Trigésimum compleret: quando Pater publice illum ad Jordanem declaravit, hac coelitus voce demissa: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo acquiesco.* Cod. Apocryph. N. Testament. Vol. I. p. 211. Edit. Hamb. 1703.*

^c *Chap. xxiii. 44.*

Ἦν ὅ ὥσεί ὥρα ἔκλῃ, καὶ σκοτῶ ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν, ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης. But how do St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* express this? The former says ^d, That Ἀπὸ ὅ ἔκλῃς ὥρας σκοτῶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης. And the latter ^e yet more clearly, Γενομένης ὅ ὥρας ἔκλῃς, σκοτῶ ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν, ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης. Now, from the Three Evangelists compared together, what can be more evident, than that the Sixth Hour here mentioned, and to which the Particle ὥσεί in St. *Luke* relates, was the Sixth Hour complete, and not the Sixth Hour current, much less any other Hour before the 6th, or after the 7th? And if this be the Meaning of the Particle ὥσεί in this Place, as undoubtedly it must be allowed it is; then why not in the other? And, consequently, what hinders but that we may, and indeed ought to conclude from St. *Luke's* own Words, That our Blessed Lord was in the 31st Year of his Age, when he came to be baptized in *Jordan* by St. *John* the Baptist?

Now these Things being premised, I presume it will be no difficult Matter to fix upon

^d Chap. xxvii. 45.

^e Chap. xv. 33.

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the earliest Time, beyond or before which we cannot, with any Colour of Reason or Probability, place the Birth of our Blessed Lord. For, since it is certain that the 15th Year of *Tiberius* began on the 19th of *August*, *An. U. C.* 781. and ended on the 18th of *August*, *An. U. C.* 782. and since it appears from *St. Luke*, That *John the Baptist* did not begin to baptize till after the 15th Year of *Tiberius* was begun, and that our Blessed Lord was baptized in the 31st Year of his Age ; it demonstrably follows, That we cannot place his Birth before the 19th of *August*, *An. U. C.* 750.

AND since it now likewise appears, That this great Event happened some Time between the 19th of *August*, *An. U. C.* 750, and the 25th of *November*, *An. U. C.* 751. I do further presume that it will be no difficult Matter to determine the very Year, and Month, and Day of the Month, on which it happened. For *Tertullian* ^f, a very early and

^f *Advers. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 7. p. 417. Ed. Par. 1675.*
Et tamen quomodo in Synagogam potuit admitti tam repentinus, tam ignotus, cujus nemo adhuc certus de Tribu, de Populo, de Domo, de Censu deniq; Augusti ? Quem Testem fidelissimum Dominicæ Nativitatis Romana Archiva custodiunt. *And again, lib. iv. c. 19. p. 433. Sed*
D &

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and accurate Writer, informs us, That to his Time an Account of our *Saviour's Nativity* was carefully preserved among the *Archives* of the *Roman* People at *Rome* : And it is well known that the *Latin Church* began very early to keep his Birth-Day on the 25th Day of *December* every Year &c. Now, since there

& Censur constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos Genus ejus inquirere potuissent.

§ So likewise St. *Austin*, and so St. *Chrysostom*, Two sufficient Witnesses, who flourished about the Year of our Lord 400, expressly assure us : And so *Bucherius* informs us, That he found it marked in a *Roman* Calendar, probably as ancient as the Year of our Lord 354. And herewith agrees that Observation of St. *Austin* ; *Hominis dispensatio minor minorque fiebat, quæ significabatur in Johanne : Dei dispensatio in Domino nostro Jesu Christo crescebat, quod & Natalibus eorum ostenditur. Nam ille natus est, sicut tradit ECCLESIA, 8vo. Calendas Julias, cum jam incipiunt minui dies : Dominus autem natus, 8vo. Calendas Januarias, quando jam dies incipiunt crescere. Audi ipsum Johannem confitentem, Illum oportet crescere, me autem minui.* For, upon computing the true Time of the Solstices for the Year of *Rome*, 750. I find that at *Jerusalem* the Summer Solstice fell out on the 24th Day of *June*, about Six or Seven o'Clock in the Afternoon ; and the Winter Solstice on the 23^d Day of *December*, about Seven or Eight o'Clock in the Morning : And hence, I think, we may justly infer, 1. That St. *Austin's* Observation is so far literally true, That the Days began to shorten about the Time that *John the Baptist* was born ; and that they began to lengthen about the Time that our Blessed Lord was born. 2. That those Christians in After-ages were not much mistaken, who thought that *John the Baptist* was born on *Midsummer Day*, as well as on the 24th Day of *June* ; and that our Blessed Lord was born on *Midwinter Day*, as well as on the 25th Day of *December*. And 3. That

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there is but one *December* between the 19th of *August*, *An. U. C.* 750, and the 25th of *November*, *An. U. C.* 751. and since it would be unreasonable to imagine, that the Church in those early Days would set apart a Day for this Solemnity different from that recorded in the *Publick* and *Authentick Registers* then in Being; I hope I may, without running the Hazard of being thought too credulous, take the Liberty to conclude with one of the most learned and elegant Historians

3. That a late eminent Mathematician (in his *Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel*, Chap. ii. p. 144, 145.) is greatly mistaken in asserting, That all the great Festival Days of the Year were fixed in the first Christian Calendars by *Mathematicians at Pleasure, without any Ground in Tradition*. For, had Mathematicians had any Hand in fixing the Feast of the Nativity of *John the Baptist* and of our Blessed Saviour; and had they been determined only by the Cardinal Periods of the Year, they would probably have fixed them on those Days of the Months on which the Sun entered into *Cancer* and *Capricorn*, in those Years in which they made their Calendars: Or, if they had Respect to the Year in which *John the Baptist* and our Blessed Lord were born, they would not surely have placed the Birth of the former on the Day of the *Summer Solstice*, and that of the latter Two Days after the *Winter Solstice*: And the like may be said of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, which the Church kept on the 25th Day of *March*, Three Days after the *Vernal Equinox*; and of the Feast of *St. Michael*, which the Church kept on the 29th Day of *September*, Four Days after the *Autumnal Equinox*. Vid. Tillemont Mem. Ecclesiast. Tom. i. Note 4. *Sur le Jour et Année de la Naissance de Jesus Christ*. And Marshall's *Observations on the Saxon Gospels*, p. 519—592. Edit. Amstel. 1684. But more especially the learned Selden's little, but excellent Treatise on the Birth of our Saviour.

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of his Timeⁱ, That our Lord Jesus Christ was born of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, on the 25th Day of *December*, (8vo. *Kalend. Januarias* Sabino et Rufino *Coff.*) *An. U. C.* 750.

HAVING

ⁱ Sulp. Sever. *Sacr. Hist.* lib. ii. c. 39. p. 347. Ed. Amstel. 1665. And if it be admitted (as I think it must) that *Tertullian* reckons the Years of *Augustus*'s Reign from the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, (*An. U. C.* 710. *March* 16th) his Testimony as to this Particular will likewise agree with the Year which we have fixed upon. For, according to *Tertullian*, the first 14 (not, as our printed Copies have it, the first 13) Years of *Augustus*, viz. from *An. U. C.* 710. to *An. U. C.* 724. were concurrent with the last 14 Years of *Cleopatra*; and we know that he reigned 43 Years after her Death; which in round Numbers is very true. And upon this Foot, the 41st Year of *Augustus*, in which he places the Birth of Christ, commenced the 16th Day of *March*, *An. U. C.* 750. and ended the 15th Day of *March*, *An. U. C.* 751. *Tertullian. advers. Judæos*, c. viii. p. 190. And so *Eusebius* observes, *Chronic. lib. poster. ad Num.* 2014. *Tertullianus* in eo libro, quem contra *Judæos* scripsit, affirmat Christum 41^o Anno *Augusti* natum. And to the same Purpose *Irenæus*, *Natus est etiam Dominus Noster circa primum et quadragesimum annum imperii Augusti*, *Contr. Heres. lib. iii. c. 21. p. 216.* And with these Authorities agrees the Author of the Apocryphal Gospel, intituled *Evangelium Infantia*, who tells us expressly, Anno autem Trecentesimo Nono *Æræ Alexandri* (*Æræ Seleucidarum*) edixit *Augustus*, ut describeretur unusquisque in patria sua: surrexit itaq; *Josephus*, et assumpta *Maria* sponsa sua, *Hierosolymam* abiit, venitq; *Bethlehemum*, ut cum familia sua in urbe Patria describeretur. Cumq; ad speluncam pervenissent, facta est *Maria* *Josepho*, instare sibi tempus pariendi, neq; posse se in urbem proficisci. *Cod. Apocryph. N. Test. Vol. I. p. 169.* For we have already observed, That the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ* began in Autumn, *An. U. C.* 442. And if to this we add 308 complete Years, it will bring us down to Autumn, *An. U. C.* 750. So that if Christ was born on the 25th of *December*, *An. U. C.* 750. as I have placed it, it follows necessarily, that he must have been

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HAVING thus discovered the true Time of our Blessed Lord's Birth, I come now in the Second Place to shew, That upon the Supposition of his being born at the Time which I have here fixed upon, the Sacred Historians are not only perfectly consistent with one another, and with themselves, in all the Circumstances which they have mentioned relating to his Birth and Infancy ; but that, in Truth, they have advanced nothing in relation to *either*, that can be made appear to be any ways inconsistent with any other *Authentick History* whatsoever.

IF we proceed in this Inquiry according to the Order of Time, the first Thing that occurs to our Observation, is, That Decree, which, according to St. *Luke*, went out from *Cesar Augustus* for *Taxing*, or, to speak more agreeable to the Original, for *Registering* or

been born in the 309th Year of the *Greeks*, as this Gospel places it : So that, if any Stress is to be laid upon what this Gospel says, it proves demonstrably, That Christ must have been born between Autumn, *An. U. C.* 750, and Autumn, *An. U. C.* 751. And, consequently, most probably on the 25th of *December*, *An. U. C.* 750. as I have placed it.

Natus est Dominus Noster Christus die 25^a Canun, et die 29 Choiac mensis ; id est (says *Selden* from *Eutychius*, de *Anno Civili Veterum Judæorum*, c. 8. p. 45). plane 25 die Decembris Juliani.

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Enrolling all the World; and which, according to his Account, was put in Execution when *Cyrenius* was Governor of *Syria*, and in that very Year in which our Blessed *Lord* was born. Now, since *St. Matthew* has taken no manner of Notice of this Decree at all; and, consequently, since it cannot be said, that upon the Supposition of its having been issued out in the 750th Year of *Rome*, *St. Luke* has thereby advanced any Thing inconsistent with *St. Matthew*; all that can be required farther is only to shew, that upon the same Supposition, neither has *St. Luke* advanced any Thing *repugnant* to, or *inconsistent* with, any other *Authentick History* whatsoever. And to satisfy the learned Reader as to this, I hope the following Observations may be sufficient;

I. THAT there was about this Time such a Person as *Cyrenius*, or, according to the *Roman Way* of writing the Name, *Curinius* or *Quirinius*, is sufficiently known. According to *Florus*^k, he was sent to subdue the *Marmaridæ* and *Garamantes*; and,

^k *Lib. iv. c. 12. p. 186. Ed. Par. in Usum Delph.* Marmaridas atq; Garamantas Curinio subigendos dedit. Potuit et ille redire Marmaricus, sed modestior in æstimanda victoria fuit.

but

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but for his Modesty, might have been surnamed *Marmaricus* : And, according to *Tacitus*¹, he was, for his martial Atchievements, and other eminent Services, first made Consul (*An. U. C.* 742.) then obtained the Honour of a Triumph ; was after this appointed Governor to *Caius*, before he set out from *Syria* for *Armenia*^m ; and at last died vastly rich, after *Tiberius* came to be *Emperor*. Now this being a Person of the same Name with him mentioned by *St. Luke*, one who certainly had Interest enough to obtain, and who was every way qualified to fill any Station ; what hinders but that we may conclude that this very Person was Governor of *Syria* at the Time *St. Luke* mentions ?

2. It is very well known that about this Time *Syria* was generally governed by Two Persons ; that is to say, by One who had the chief Command of all Military Affairs ; and

¹ *Annal. Lib. iii. p. 448. Ed. Par. in Usum Delph.* Sub id Tempus, ut Mors Sulpitii Quirinii publicis exequiis frequentaretur, petivit (Tiberius) à *Senatu* : Nihil ad veterem et Patriciam Sulpitiorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit.--- Sed impiger Militiæ, et acerbis Ministeriis, Consulatum sub Diyo Augusto, (*An. U. C.* 742.) mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium Castellis, insignia triumphi adeptus ; datuq; rector C. Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoq; Rhodi agentem coluerat.

^m The learned *Noris* places this in the latter End of the Year 755, or in the Year 756. *Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 267.*

by another who had the Care of the Finances, And thus we see in *Josephus*, that when *Herod* carried his Two Sons, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, down to *Berytus*, (*An. U. C.* 746.) to be tried for their Lives, *Saturninus* appeared there as President, and *Volumnius* as Procurator of *Syria*ⁿ. And again, at the Death of *Herod*, (*An. U. C.* 751.) it appears that at the same Time that *Varus* was President, *Sabinus* was Procurator of *Syria*^o.

3. WHATEVER the proper and discriminating Titles of these Two Governors might be, it appears from *Josephus*, that they were both equally and indifferently called ἐπίτροποι^p, ἐπιστατῆνες^q, and ἡγεμόνες^r.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvi. c. 11. p. 743.

^o Id. ibid. lib. xvii. c. 9. p. 774.

^p Antiq. lib. xv. c. 10. p. 697. Quin et eum (*Herodem*) cum *Syriæ* procuratoribus conjunxit (*Augustus*), eisq; ne quid sine *Herodis* sententia facerent, imperavit. Ἐγκαταμίγνυσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστοπτεύουσι τὴν *Συρίαν*, ἐντεταλμένος μὲν τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν.

^q Antiq. lib. xvi. c. 9. p. 734. Qua de re coram *Saturnino* et *Volumnio*, qui tum *Syriæ* præessent, disceptatum est; Περὶ ὧν ἐπὶ τῷ *Σαττερνίνῳ* καὶ *Οὐολύμνῳ* τῶν *Συρίας* ἐπιστατῆνων, ἐγένοντο λόγοι.

^r Antiq. lib. xvi. c. 9. p. 734. Ille vero hac de re locutus cum *Saturnino* et *Volumnio*, *Cæsarianis* ducibus; Ἐκείνους δὲ διελέγετο περὶ τούτων τοῖς *Καίσαρος* ἡγεμόσιν *Σαττερνίνῳ* τε καὶ *Οὐολύμνῳ*. Id. lib. xvi. c. 10. p. 741. Sed post aditos aliquoties *Syriæ* Duces *Saturninum* et *Volumnium*, *Σαττερνίνον* καὶ *Οὐολύμνιον* τὰς τῇ *Συρίας* ἡγεμόνας. Et alibi bis in eadem pagina.

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4. THAT it appears not only from the express Testimony of *Justin Martyr*^f, but likewise from the plain Confession of the Emperor *Julian*^t, That *Cyrenius* was one of the Governors of *Syria*, when the *Census* mentioned by St. *Luke* was taken.

5. That it likewise appears from the express Testimony of *Tertullian*^v, That *Sentius Saturninus* was another of the Governors of *Syria*, when the *Census* mentioned by St. *Luke* was taken.

6. That *Josephus*, and all the other Historians of those Times, are wholly silent as to the Name of the Person or Persons who acted

^s Apolog. II. pro Christianis, p. 75. Edit. Par. 1615. Vicus quidem est Bethlehem in regione Judæorum, 35 Stadiis Hierosolymis distans, ubi natus est Christus Jesus: Quemadmodum et ex descriptionibus Censui acti, quæ sub Cyrenio, primo vestro in Judæa procuratore, sunt confectæ, intelligere potestis; ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῆ ἀπογραφῆς τῆ γενομένης ἐπὶ Κυρηνίᾳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ ἐπιτρόπῳ.

^t Julianus Imperator & Apostata, apud Cyril. Alexand. lib. vi. contra Julianum, p. 213. Ed. Spanh. Lypsiæ, 1696. Jesus, quem vos prædicatis, unus erat ex Cæsaris subditis. —Dicitis quippe ipsum cum patre ac matre sub Cyrenio Censum fuisse; ὅσα δὲ μέντοι αὐτὸν ἀπογράφασθαι μὴ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἐπὶ Κυρηνίᾳ.

^v Adversus Marcionem, lib. iv. c. 19. p. 433. Sed et Censui constat actus sub Augusto nunc in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent.

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as Procurators for the Romans in Syria, from
the Year of Rome 746, to the Year 751.

7. THAT it may be proved from *Josephus*, That *Sentius Saturninus* was President of *Syria*, *An. U. C. 750.* and that he probably continued in that Office all that Year, and for some Part of the next, till he was relieved by *Varus*. *Josephus*, in the Account which he has given us of *Syllæus's* Conspiracy against *Herod's* Life^w, tells us expressly, 1. That this Plot was not discovered till after *Antipater's* Departure for, if not after his Arrival at, *Rome*: And, 2. That *Herod* having apprehended the Conspirators, and having acquainted *Saturninus* with the whole Affair, and sent the guilty Persons to him, *Saturninus* sent them all to *Rome*. Now, if we suppose that *Antipater* might make his Voyage from *Jerusalem* to *Rome* in two Months; that *Pheroras* was sent to his *Tetrarchy* presently after *Antipater's* Departure from *Judæa*, and that he died in about one Month after *Antipater's* Arrival at *Rome*; that *Antipater's* own Plot against his Father's Life might be discovered in about one Month after the Death of *Pheroras*; that after this Discovery *Antipater* continued seven Months at *Rome*, without

^w *Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 3. p. 754, 755.*

having

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having any Intelligence of the Matter * ; that in two Months more he might make his Voyage from *Rome* to *Jerusalem* ; that upon his Arrival at *Jerusalem* he was tried by *Q. Varus*, then lately come to succeed *Saturninus* as President of *Syria* † ; and that it might take up four or five Months, or more, before *Herod* could send an Account of his Proceedings against *Antipater* to *Augustus*, and get his Consent to put him to Death : I say, If we lay all these Circumstances together, it seems very evident to me, that the whole Time between *Antipater's* setting out on this last Voyage of his to *Rome*, and the Death of *Herod*, could not well exceed 18 or 19 Months ; and that therefore we may very reasonably conclude, That *Antipater* did not set out upon this Voyage from *Judea*, till about the latter End of *April*, or the Beginning of *May*, *An. U. C. 750*. Now since *Syllæus's* Plot against *Herod's* Life was not

* *Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 4. p. 758.* Mirum autem alicui videatur, quod Septimum jam mensem tam multa adversus eum moverentur in Judæa, quorum ipse omnium ignarus esset ; Θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις ὅτι τοσῶν δὲ ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ κατ' αὐτὸν κεινημένων μηνὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ αὐτῷ δῆλον γένοιτο.

† *Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 5. p. 759.* Erat eo tempore Hierosolymis Quintilius Varus, missus Saturnino successor ad gubernandam Syriam ; Ἐτύχανε δὲ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τῆτον τὸν καιρὸν Ὀυαρὸς Κύνθιλιος, διαδόχος μὲν Σαταρνίνῳ ὃ ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἀπεσπασμένος.

discovered

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discovered till some Time after *Antipater's* Departure for *Rome*; and, consequently, since *Herod* could not possibly send the Conspirators to *Saturninus* before that Time; it clearly follows, That *Saturninus* must have been one of the Governors of *Syria* in *April* and *May*, *An. U. C. 750*. And if it be further considered, That *Antipater's* Trial before *Varus* cannot well be placed sooner than *May* or *June*, *An. U. C. 751*. and that it is upon that Occasion that *Josephus* first takes Notice of *Varus* being come to succeed *Saturninus*; I think nothing is more evident, than that, according to *Josephus*, *Saturninus* continued to act as President of *Syria* all the Year 750. if not for two or three Months of the next Year, till *Varus* could come to relieve him.

8. THAT it appears from *St. Luke's* own Words, that there were two *Census's* of the *Jews*, taken at different Times; which he distinguishes by such Characters as cannot easily be mistaken: The first, ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη, under *Cyrenius*, in the Year that our blessed Lord was born ²; and the second, under the Conduct of the same *Cyrenius*, after the

² Luke ii. 2.

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Banishment of *Archelaus*, when one *Judas* a *Galilean* raised a great Sedition among the People ^a.

9. As St. *Luke* has most accurately characteriz'd the very Year of the second *Census*, by telling us that *Judas* of *Galilee* rose up in those Days, and drew away much People after him; so we cannot but conclude that he would be equally, if not more careful, to characterize the *First*, as being the Year in which that Divine Person was born, the History of whose Life he had undertaken to write. By telling us therefore, that the *First Census* was taken, when *Cyrenius* was Governor of *Syria*, we must necessarily conclude that *Cyrenius* was sent expressly into *Syria* for that Purpose; that he left that Country again, as soon as he had executed what he came for; and that the whole Time of his Stay in *Syria* did not exceed the Space of One Year.

10. UPON the Whole; since it thus appears that *Sentius Saturninus* was Governor of *Syria*, *An. U. C.* 750. and that he continued in that Station all that Year at least, if not

^a Acts v. 37. compared with Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 1. p. 792, 794. lib. xx. c. 4. p. 886.

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for the first two or three Months of the next ; does not this confirm the Testimony of *Tertullian* beyond all Contradiction, who tells us, That the *Census* mentioned in the 2^d Chapter of *St. Luke*, was taken when this very Person was Governor of *Syria* ? Since it now appears, that there were generally, if not always, about this Time, *Two Governors* of *Syria* ? Since we have proved that *Sentius Saturninus* was One of the Governors of that Province, *An. U. C. 750.* and since History is wholly silent as to the Name of the other for that Year ; what hinders but that we may and ought to conclude, that *Cyrenius* was the other Governor of *Syria*, *An. U. C. 750^a* ; and, consequently, that the *First Census* mentioned by *St. Luke* was really taken in that very Year, in which I have (for other Reasons) placed the Birth of our Blessed Saviour ? I will not now ask, Whether this be any way repugnant to, or inconsistent with, any other Authentick History ; but I must take the Free-

¶ Descriptio cuius occasione Joseph profectus est in civitatem Bethlehem, vix fieri potuit ante Annum U. C. 750. Nam Quirintus non potuit sortiri provinciam, nisi An. U. C. 748. post exactum à gesto Consulatu quinquennium. In profectioe suâ, in itinere, in debellandis Homonadensibus, quos vicit fame, abire potuit unus et alter annus : ut commodè cogitare non possimus describendam Judæam suscepisse ante An. U. C. 750. *Lamy Appar. Chronolog. Part. i. c. 11. § 1. p. 87.*

dom

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dom to ask, What can be more consonant and agreeable to the best History that we have of the *Jewish* Affairs about this Time?

THE Reader, I hope, will pardon me, if, after what has been said, I take the Liberty to observe, with what little Reason some have wondered that *Josephus*, who expressly mentions the *Second Census* in the Beginning of the 18th Book of his *Antiquities*, should have wholly omitted to say any Thing of the *First* in the 17th Book of the same excellent Work: And on the other hand, how inconsistently others have endeavoured to maintain, that the *Oath of Fidelity*, which the *Jews* took to *Cæsar* and *Herod*, soon after the Execution of the two young Princes, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, was imposed upon them at the same Time that the *First Census* was taken. For it is most evident, That the first *Seven* Chapters of the 17th Book of *Josephus's* *Antiquities* are chiefly taken up with the Misfortunes that befel *Herod* and his *Family*; and with the several Incidents that contributed thereto for the last *Five* or *Six* Years of his Life; so that it is not at all to be wondered, That when *Josephus* was treating of such a Subject, he should take no Notice of the *First Census*, which was only *Personal*, and which had nei-

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ther any good nor any bad Effect upon that Prince's Affairs. But with regard to the *Second*, the Case is widely different; for, when upon the Removal of *Archelaus*, *Judea* was reduced to a *Roman Province*, and made *subordinate* to that of *Syria*; How could such an Historian as *Josephus* omit taking Notice of such an *essential* Change in the *Constitution* of his Country? How could he avoid taking Notice of this *Second Census*, which *compelled* his Countrymen not only to *Register* their *Persons* and *Estates*; but likewise to pay a *proportionable Tax* out of them, towards the Support and Preservation of the *new Establishment*? How could he omit mentioning the Names of the Persons who were chiefly employ'd by *Augustus*, in contriving and settling the same? And as for the *Oath of Fidelity*, which *Herod* made the *Jews* take to *Cesar* and to *Himself*; it plainly appears, both from the Course of the Narration, and from the Behaviour of *Pheroras* and his *Wife* upon that Occasion, That the whole Nation of the *Jews* was at that Time in no small *Ferment* on Account of the sudden and untimely End of the only two Princes of his Family, who were *Favourites* with the People; and consequently, That that Oath was imposed upon them soon after the Death of those unfortunate Princes;

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not by virtue of any *Order* or *Decree* from *Cæsar* for that Purpose, but merely for his own Safety and Preservation. I cannot therefore but humbly submit it, whether they who place this *Swearing*, and the *First Census* of *St. Luke*, in *one* and the *same Year*, have not shewn more *Zeal* than *Judgment* in so doing?

As for the other Circumstances which the Sacred Historians have recorded concerning the *Birth* and *Infancy* of the ever-blessed *Jesus*; it must be confessed that it would be a vain Thing to think to fix them to the very Days, or even to the very Months in which they respectively happened: But, if Probabilities may be admitted, where Certainty is not to be had, I am humbly of Opinion, that we shall not deviate much from the Truth, if we take the Liberty to range them in the following Order.

An. U. C. 750.

IN the Month of March, the Angel Gabriel is sent unto the Blessed Virgin Mary, to declare unto her, that she should conceive and bring forth a Son, and that she should call his Name JESUS ^{b.}

^{b.} Luke i. 26—31.

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IN April, and perhaps about the latter End of it, Antipater being afraid of having his Intrigues with Pheroras and others against his Father's Life, discovered, sets out from Jerusalem for Rome ^c.

IN May, and perhaps about the Beginning of it, Pheroras is ordered by Herod to retire to his Tetrarchy, which he immediately complies with ^d.

IN June, Herod discovers Syllæus's Plot; sends the Conspirators to Sentius Saturninus; falls sick; sends for Pheroras to come to see him, which he refuses to do ^e. John the Baptist born about the latter End of this Month.

IN July, Pheroras falls sick; Herod makes him a Visit; Pheroras repents of his wicked Designs against his Brother's Life; is poisoned by his own Wife, and dies ^f.

IN August, Herod makes a magnificent Funeral for Pheroras, is informed that his

^c Josep. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 3. § 2. p. 754.

^d Id. eodem Capite, § 3. p. 755.

^e Id. ibid. p. 755.

^f Id. ibidem.

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Wife had poisoned him; and discovers that Antipater, in Conjunction with Pheroras and others, had laid a Plot to take away his own Life g.

IN September, Herod discovering that his Wife Mariamne, the Daughter of Simon (the Son of Boethus) the High-Priest, was privy to the Conspiracy against his Life, divorces her; strikes her Son out of his Will; removes her Father Simon from the High Priesthood; and confers that Honour upon Matthias, the Son of Theophilus, a Native of Jerusalem ^h.

IN October, Matthias having had an impure Dream the Night before the Day of the great Expiation, is disabled from officiating in the Holy of Holies that Day. Josephus the Son of Ellamus is chosen to officiate in his Room, pro hac vice ⁱ. Herod enters into the 37th Year of his Reign, computing from the Time of his being first declared King at Rome.

IN December, and on the 25th Day of the Month, is born in Bethlehem, the City of

^g Jos. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 4. § 1, 2, 3. p. 755 — 758.

^h Id. ibid.

ⁱ Id. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 6. § 4. p. 767.

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David, of a Pure and Holy Virgin, JESUS
CHRIST, the Son of GOD, and the Saviour
of the World.

An. U.C. 751.

IN January, and on the First Day of the Month, the young Child is circumcised, and called JESUS, being so named of the Angel before he was conceived in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin ^k.

IN February, Jesus is brought up by Joseph and Mary to Jerusalem, to be presented to the Lord ; Simeon and Anna prophesy in the Temple concerning him ^l. Certain wise, holy, and divinely enlightened Men come from the East, inquiring for him that is born King of the Jews. Herod, and all Jerusalem being troubled thereat, he assembles the Chief Priests and Scribes of the People together, and demands of them where Christ should be born ; he examines the Wise Men about the Star which appeared to them in the East, and sends them to Bethlehem, to find out the young Child which they came to look for. The Wise Men

^k Luke ii. 21.

^l Id. ver. 22—38.

being

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being guided by the same divine Appearance which they had seen before in the East, come into the House, and see the young Child with Mary his Mother, and fall down and worship him; and having opened their Treasures, they present unto him Gifts, Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh^m: Then being warned of God that they should not return to Herod, they depart into their own Country another Wayⁿ. Upon the Departure of the Wise Men, Joseph, by the Command of the Angel of the Lord, arises, and takes the young Child and his Mother, and flees with them into Egypt^o; and Herod, seeing that he was mocked of the Wise Men, sends forth and slays all the Children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the Coasts thereof, from Two Years old and under, according to the Time which he had diligently inquired of the

^m Chalcidius in *Timæum* Platonis, p. 219. Est quoque alia sanctior et venerabilior historia; quæ perhibet, ortu stellæ cujusdam, non morbos, mortesq; denunciatos, sed *Descensum Dei Venerabilis* ad humanæ conservationis, rerumq; mortalium gratiam. Quam stellam cum nocturno itinere suspexissent Chaldæorum profecto sapientes viri, et consideratione rerum cœlestium satis exercitati, quæsisse dicuntur Recentem Ortum Dei; repertaq; illa Majestate puerili veneratos esse, et vota, Deo tanto convenientia, nuncupasse.

ⁿ Matthew ii. 1 ——— 12.

^o Id. ibid. 13, 14.

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Wise Men^p. I know that the Coming of the Wise Men to Jerusalem, and the Slaughter of the Infants in Bethlehem, are generally placed long before the Purification of the Blessed Virgin. But if it be considered, that, according to St. Luke, the Infant Jesus was presented to the Lord before he was carried into Egypt; and that this was not done until his Mother had accomplished the Forty Days, which according to the Law of Moses was the Time appointed for her Purification; and if it be considered on the other hand, That St. Matthew leaves the Time of the Coming of the Wise Men to Jerusalem, indefinite; and only observes, that the Flight of Joseph, with the young Child and his Mother, into Egypt, followed immediately after their Departure to their own Country; I say, if we duly consider and compare these Things together, in my humble Opinion, it necessarily follows, That the Coming of the Wise Men to Jerusalem, and the Slaughter of the Infants in Bethlehem, ought to be placed some Time in this Month, and not in the preceding Month of January.

^p Matt. ii. 16—18.

Macrobian. Saturn. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 232. Cum audisset (Augustus) inter Pueros, quos in Syria Herodes Rex Judæorum intra Bimatum jussit interfici, Filium quoq; ejus occisum; ait, Melius est Herodis Porcum esse, quam Filium.

IN

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IN March, Quintilius Varus arrives at Antioch; takes upon himself the Government of Syria; Sentius Saturninus returns to Rome; Antipater, who had now lived Seven Months at Rome, without knowing or being any ways apprized of the Discoveries which his Father had made against him, ever since the Month of August last, sets out from Rome on his Return home ^q.

IN April, Herod sends an Invitation to Quintilius Varus, the new Governor of Syria, to come and make him a Visit at Jerusalem, and to assist him with his Advice about Antipater ^r.

IN May, Quintilius Varus comes to Jerusalem, and is magnificently entertained by Herod; Antipater arrives at Jerusalem; Herod and Varus sit in Judgment upon Antipa-

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 4. § 3. p. 758. Mirum autem alicui videatur, quod septimum jam mensem tam multa adversus eum moverentur in Judea, quorum ipse omnium ignarus esset.

^r Id. lib. xvii. c. 5. § 2. p. 759. Erat eo tempore Hierosolymis Quintilius Varus, missus Saturnino Successor ad gubernandam Syriam: Veneratq; Herodis rogatu, ut cissuper præsentibus negotiis consilium daret.

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ter; he is found guilty : Varus returns to Antioch, and Herod imprisons his Son^f.

IN June, Herod sends Ambassadors to Caesar, to inform him of what had passed about Antipater; Acme, one of the Empress's Women Servants, is accused of being concerned in Antipater's Conspiracy, and more Ambassadors are sent to Rome^t.

IN July, Herod falls sick; makes his Will; despairs of recovering, being about 70 Years of Age; is reported to be dead; Judas and Matthias, Two of the Jewish Doctors, stir up the People to Sedition; they pull down the Golden Eagle which Herod had set up over one of the Gates of the Temple; Matthias is removed from being High Priest; Jozarus his Wife's Brother is created High Priest in his Stead; and Matthias, one of the Ringleaders of the Riot, is burnt alive^v.

IN August, Herod calls in the Physicians, and follows their Advice in all Things^w.

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 5. § 2, 3—7. p. 759—764.

^t Id. ibid. p. 764, 765.

^v Id. lib. xvii. c. 6. § 1—4. p. 765—768.

^w Id. ibid. p. 768, 769.

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IN September, Herod *finding no Benefit from any Thing that the Physicians could prescribe, goes by their Advice to the Baths at Callirrhoe beyond Jordan, and uses them for some Time* ^x.

IN October, Herod *returns to Jericho, grows melancholy, summons the chief of the Jews to come to him at Jericho, and imprisons them in the Hippodrome* ^y.

IN November, Herod *receives Letters from his Ambassadors at Rome; has Caesar's Leave to do by Antipater as he thinks fit; grows somewhat better upon this News; relapses again; is grievously tormented; attempts to kill himself; but is hindered by Achiabus; makes his last Will; orders Antipater to be put to Death on the 20th; and dies himself on the 25th Day of this Month* ^z.

IN December, Archelaus *makes great Preparations for Herod's Funeral.*

^x Id. *ibid.*

^y Id. *ibid.*

^z Id. *Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 7. p. 769, 770.*

An. U. C. 752.

IN January, the Preparations for Herod's Funeral are continued.

IN February, Herod is carried in great Pomp and State from Jericho to Herodium, and there buried ^a.

IN March, the Jews petition Archelaus to redress several of their Grievances; he gives them favourable Answers; they mutiny, and about 3000 of them are killed at the Pass-over ^b.

IN April, Archelaus goes to Cæsarea in order to take Shipping for Rome; Sabinus Cæsar's Procurator in Syria meets Archelaus at Cæsarea; Varus, upon Archelaus's Request, meets him at the same Place; Sabinus promises not to go up into Judea, nor to meddle with Herod's Treasures, till Cæsar's Pleasure about them should be known; Archelaus thereupon sets Sail for Rome; and Varus returns

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 8. § 3. p. 771.

^b Id. ibid. § 4. p. 771, 772. Cap. 9. § 3. p. 773, 774.

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to Antioch c. About the same Time Antipas, another of Herod's Sons, sets out for Rome, in order to put in his Claim to the Kingdom, preferable to Archelaus, and is therein strongly supported by almost all the rest of Herod's Family d.

IN May, Sabinus, in Breach of his Promise, goes up to Jerusalem; takes Possession of the Palace; endeavours to get several other strong Places into his Hands; and plunders the Sacred Treasures; the Jews, being assembled together in great Numbers from all Parts at the Feast of Pentecost, rise up against him, and reduce him to great Straits; and Varus, being informed of his Distress, comes with Two Legions, and many other Auxiliaries, to his Assistance, and suppresses the Rebellion. After which, the Jews are permitted by Varus to send a solemn Embassy to Rome, to beg to have a Roman Governor set over them; and to be permitted to live under him according to their own Laws; and Philip, another of Herod's Sons, is likewise encouraged by Varus to go to Rome, to solicit for his Brother Antipas; or, in case

^c Id. *ibid.* p. 774.

^d Id. *ibid.* p. 774, 775.

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of a Partition of Herod's Dominions, to sue
for a Share of them for himself^e.*

IN June and July, Augustus hears and examines into the Claims and Pretensions of the Three Princes, Archelaus, Antipas and Philip ; and constitutes the first, Ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea ; the second, Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea ; and the third, Tetrarch of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, with a Part of what was then called the House of Zenodorus^f.

IN August, the three Princes return home, and take Possession of their several and respective Governments.

IN the Month of September, Joseph returns with the Infant Jesus, and his Mother, out of Egypt ; and comes into the Land of Israel ; but hearing that Archelaus reigned in Judea, in the Room of his Father Herod, he is afraid to go thither ; and therefore, being warned of God in a Dream, he turns aside into the Parts of Galilee, and comes and

^e Id. *ibid.* p. 774, 777, 778, 781, 782, 783.

^f Id. *Antiq. lib.* xvii. c. 13. § 4. p. 875.

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dwells in a City called Nazareth &. That is, as the Words of St. Luke may be rightly paraphrased; And when Joseph and Mary had performed all Things which the Law required, and which the Prophets had foretold concerning the Infant State of their Divine Charge, they return into Galilee, to their own City Nazareth h.

I HAVE now gone thro' the Two first Heads which I propos'd to treat of. But tho' the Reasons and Authorities already produced may fully convince some, that our Blessed Saviour was born on the 25th Day of *December, An. U. C. 750.* and tho', I hope, I have likewise made it appear, that, upon that Supposition, the Sacred Historians are not only perfectly consistent with one another and with themselves; but likewise that they have advanced nothing upon that Subject that can be proved to be any ways inconsistent with any other

g Matthew ii. 19—23.

h Luke ii. 39.

That Joseph and Mary did not return with the young Child Jesus to Nazareth, till after they came back from Egypt, is expressly affirmed by Irenæus; Quapropter sine dubitatione suavis Joseph, et Mariam accepit, et in reliqua universa educatione Christi gaudens obsequium præstitit, usq; in Ægyptum suscipiens profectionem, et inde regressum, et in Nazareth transmigrationem. Contra Hæres. lib. iv. c. 23. p. 259, 260.

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authentick History whatsoever ; yet I must own, that there are some Objections to the placing of the Nativity of our Blessed Lord in this Year ; which, if not thoroughly considered, might leave great Doubts and Scruples upon the Minds of others : I shall, therefore, in the third and last Place, take the Liberty to state the Arguments which have chiefly induced the Learned to place the Birth of our Lord before the Year 750, and to give such Answers and Solutions to them, as, I hope, will intirely satisfy every candid and impartial Inquirer after Truth.

AND, First, The most learned, accurate, and most justly esteemed *Tillemont*, acknowledges, that the Death of *Herod* the Great must necessarily be placed either in the 750th, or in the 751st Year of *Rome* ⁱ : But then he chuses to pitch upon the first of those Two Years, for these Reasons : 1. *Josephus*, says he, informs us in his *Antiquities* ^k, That *Archelaus* was banished in the 10th Year of his Reign ; and *Dio* assures us, That this happened when *Lepidus* and *Aruntius* were

ⁱ *Histoire des Empereurs et des autres Princes, Tom. I. P.*

ii. p. 1053, 1054. *Ed. Brux.*

^k *Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 15, p. 788.*

Consuls,

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Consuls, *An. U. C.* 759¹. Therefore, according to these Accounts, the Death of *Herod* must be placed *An. U. C.* 750. 2. He thinks that, according to *Josephus*, *Herod* died some short Time before the Passover; that during his last Sickness some seditious People pulled down the golden Eagle which he had caused to be set up over one of the Gates of the Temple; that in Resentment of that Affront, and to deter others from the like, he ordered *Matthias*, one of the Ringleaders of the Sedition, to be burnt alive; and that the Night after that Execution there was an Eclipse of the Moon. 3. He observes, that according to *Kepler*, there was an Eclipse of the Moon in the Night between the 13th and 14th of *March*, and about a Month before the Passover, *An. U. C.* 750. but that there was no Eclipse of the Moon at all before the Passover, *An. U. C.* 751. He therefore concludes

¹ Lib. lv. p. 567. "Ο τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος, αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβὼν, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀλπεὶς ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιώθη. *Herodes Palæstinus à fratribus accusatus, trans Alpes est relegatus, ac pars ejus ditionis in publicum redacta.*

Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 765. Edit. Par. 1620. *Cæsar* et *Herodis* filios, et sororem *Salomen*, et *Berenicen* ejus filiam, honore prosecutus est; sed filiis res non feliciter cesserunt; qui rei facti, alter in exilio apud Gallos *Allobroges* vitam exegit; reliqui ægrè multis obsequiis reditum impetrârunt, et suam uterq; *Tetrarchiam*.

upon

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upon the whole, That this *Eclipse* of the 13th of *March*, *An. U. C.* 750. must be that which *Josephus* speaks of ; and, consequently, that it fully justifies the placing of the Death of *Herod*, if not before the Passover, yet at least some Time in the Year 750. And tho' he acknowledges elsewhere ^m, with uncommon Modesty, That he had not sufficiently considered all the Difficulties which occur about the Birth of our Blessed Lord ; yet, as to the Death of *Herod*, he persists in it, That he cannot see what Answer can be given to these Reasons for placing it in the Year 750. And, therefore, continues he, since it is certain that our Blessed Saviour was born before the Death of that Prince ; it evidently follows, if we suppose him to have been born on the 25th of *December*, that we cannot place his Birth later than the 25th of *December*, *An. U. C.* 749. four whole Years before the *Æra* which we commonly make use of. And this Opinion, he adds, is that which is now generally followed by all the Learned.

Now, since this is the Case ; and since these are the Arguments which have induced so many

^m *Memoires Ecclesiastiques*, Tome I. P. i. Note 4. Sur l'Histoire du N. S. *Jesus Christ*, p. 194. Ed. Brux.

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of the Learned to place the Death of *Herod* in the 750th Year of *Rome*; and consequently, to place the Birth of our Blessed Lord One Year at least earlier than I have done, I hope I shall be excused, if, to the end that the learned Reader may be enabled to judge for himself, whether they carry that Force and Evidence with them which has hitherto been supposed, I take the Liberty to submit the following Particulars to his Consideration.

1. I PRESUME it will not be denied, but that the whole united Strength of these Arguments depends upon the Coincidence, or rather upon the Identity of *Kepler's* Eclipse of the 13th of *March*, *An. U. C.* 750. with that which *Josephus* says happened the Night after *Matthias* was burnt alive.

2. SINCE the Eclipse of the Moon in *Josephus* is mentioned only in general Terms; I presume it will also be admitted, that there are no Rules in Astronomy, which of themselves, and without any other Help, can enable us to determine whether *Kepler's* Eclipse of the 13th of *March*, *An. U. C.* 750. is identically the same with that which *Josephus* speaks of, or not.

3. I PRESUME it will likewise be granted, That the Proof of the Identity of these Two Eclipses must depend intirely upon the Truth of these Two Particulars: 1. That *Archelaus* reigned 9 Years and upwards. And, 2. That *Herod* fell ill of his last Sickness about a Month or five Weeks before the Passover, *An. U. C.* 750. For if any better Reasons can be assigned, to induce us to believe that *Archelaus* reigned, for Example, but 8 Years and upwards, than there are to persuade us to believe that he reigned 9 Years and upwards: Or if there are sufficient Reasons to induce us to believe that *Herod* did not fall ill of his last Sickness before the Passover, *An. U. C.* 750. I say, if these Things can be made appear, it will follow of Necessity, That *Kepler's* Eclipse of the 13th of *March*, *An. U. C.* 750. cannot be *identically* the same with that which *Josephus* says happened the Night after *Matthias* was burnt alive; and, consequently, it will likewise follow, that all the Inferences which learned Men have drawn from such an *Imaginary Identity*, must fall to the Ground, and vanish away to nothing. Now this whole Controversy being thus reducible to these Two Points, let us, in the next Place, consider

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sider the Evidence on both Sides with regard to them, and then let us judge accordingly.

AND first, As to the Reign of *Archelaus* ; I do admit that, according to our present Copies, *Josephus*, in the 17th Book of his *Antiquities* ⁿ, does expressly intimate, that *Archelaus* reigned 9 Years and upwards : And I do likewise admit that, upon this Supposition, and by placing the Death of *Herod* in *March*, or even in *November*, *An. U. C. 750.* our learned Author does fully reconcile *Dio* and *Josephus* to one another. For, these Things being granted, nothing hinders but that *Archelaus* might enter into the 10th Year of his Reign in *March* or *November*, *An. U. C. 759.* and *Augustus* might banish him in *December* following, while *Lepidus* and *Aruntius* were as yet Consuls at *Rome*. But tho' it be a very easy Matter for any body, granting such Suppositions as these, to reconcile *Josephus* to *Dio* ; yet what I want to know is this, How the most learned Man living can, upon the same *Hypothesis*, reconcile *Josephus* to himself ? For, if *Archelaus* reigned 9 Years and upwards, and consequently succeeded *Herod* in *March* or *November*, *An. U. C. 750.* then *Herod* reigned but $35 \frac{1}{2}$ Years, or at the most

ⁿ Cap. xv. p. 788, 789.

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but 36 Years, computing from the Time that he was first declared King at *Rome* ; and but $32 \frac{1}{2}$ Years, or at the most but 33 Years, from the Death of *Antigonus* ; and yet *Josephus* assures us expressly, both in his *Antiquities*, and in his *Wars of the Jews*, That he reigned 37 Years, computing from the first ; and 34 Years, computing from the last of these Periods. Now what are we to say to this ? If *Herod* began his Reign in or about *October*, *An. U. C.* 714. as is universally admitted ; and if he reigned 37 Years from that Time, as *Josephus*, both in his *Antiquities*, and in his Books of the *Wars of the Jews*, says he did, How could *Archelaus* reign 9 Years and upwards after him, and yet be deposed and banished *An. U. C.* 759 ? This, in my poor Opinion, is plainly impossible.

GIVE me Leave, then, to consider *Josephus* in another Light. In the 18th Book of his *Antiquities* °, he informs us, That in the 37th Year from the Battle of *Actium*, that is, in the Year which began on the 2^d of *September*, *An. U. C.* 759. and which ended on the 2^d of *September*, *An. U. C.* 760. *Augustus* sent *Quirinus*, or *Quirinius*, into *Judea*,

• Cap. ii. p. 794.

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In order to take an Account, not only of the Number of Persons, but likewise of the Estates of the *Jews* ; to reduce that Country into a *Roman Province* ; and to put *Coponius* into Possession of the Government of it for the *Romans*. Now this being the Case, What hinders, but that, according to *Josephus* as well as *Dio*, *Archelaus* might be deposed and banished to *Vienne* in *Gaul*, in *December*, *An. U. C. 759* ? That *Quirinus* and *Coponius* might thereupon set out from *Rome* in *January* following ? and that the first might finish all his Business in *Judea* before the 2^d of *September*, *An. U. C. 760* ? Again ; *Josephus* wrote his Books of the *Wars of the Jews* at first in his own Mother-Tongue, for the Use of his Countrymen ; and he afterwards translated them into *Greek*, for the Use of the *Roman* People ^P : And in them he tells us, That *Archelaus* was deposed and banished to *Vienne* in *Gaul*, in the 9th Year of his Reign ^Q. Now is it not as easy to reconcile *Josephus* to *Dio* upon the Foot of this Account, as

^P In Procemio ad Libros de Bello Judaico.

^Q Lib. ii. c. 7. p. 1059. Ἐπει δ' ἀρχὴς ἐννάτῳ φυγαδεύ-
εται μὲν εἰς Βιένναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας ; Anno Regni nono
in exilium pellitur Viennam, quæ Galliarum urbs est, et ejus
Patrimonium Fisco Cæsaris adjudicatur.

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upon the other ? And instead of making *Josephus* contradict himself, as the other manifestly does ; does not this clearly shew that he is in all Points perfectly consistent with himself ? For, supposing that *Herod* died (as I have fixed it) on the 25th Day of *November*, *An. U. C.* 751. after a Reign of full 37 Years ; does it not evidently follow, That the Ninth Year of *Archelaus's* Reign commenced on the 25th of *November*, *An. U. C.* 759. and, consequently, that *Josephus* might here very truly say, that he was banished in the Ninth Year of his Reign ?

To bring this Matter then to one single Point : Our present Copies of *Josephus's* Works make him say in one Place, that *Archelaus* was banished in the Tenth Year of his Reign ; and in another, that he was banished in the Ninth Year of his Reign. Both, we see, may be reconciled to *Dio*, who says, That he was banished in the Time of the Consulship of *Lepidus* and *Aruntius*, that is, *An. U. C.* 759. But the *First* being inconsistent with the Number of Years which *Josephus* assures us, in more Places of his Works than one, that *Herod* the Great reigned ; and the *Other* being perfectly consistent with the same ; the

Question

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Question is, Which of these Two Readings we ought to prefer? Now, if any Rules of Criticism can justify our preferring a Reading, which makes an Author of known Learning and Ability inconsistent with himself, there is no Doubt but we may choose the first; but if, according to all the known Rules of *Criticism*, we ought to prefer that Reading which is most consistent with, and most agreeable to what the same Author writes on other Occasions touching the same Affairs; and which at the same time is no ways inconsistent with any other Author of equal Credit and Reputation; I am humbly of Opinion, That we cannot avoid embracing the other. And, if so, then one of the main Props for supporting the *Identity* of the Two Eclipses above-mentioned, falls intirely to the Ground.

As to the other Particular, relating to *Herod's* last Sickness; I think, after what has been said upon the other Head, it will scarcely admit of any great Debate. For, 1. As to *Kepler's* own original Notion, That *Herod* fell ill some short Time before the Eclipse of the 13th of *March*, *An. U. C.* 750. and that he died but a few Days after it, and only about Three Weeks before the then next ensuing *Passover*; it is very well known that this was

not only strongly objected to by *Calvisius* ^r,
almost

^r In Epistolis ad Johannem Keplerum, in Appendice ad opus suum Chronologicum, Epist. 29, 30, 31. præsertim p. 30, 31. Ed. Francf. 1685. ubi sic scribit: Tempus autem quod intercessit inter Eclipsim et Pascha proxime sequens, Anno Juliano 42, fuit unius mensis tantum. Videamus igitur, quæ eodem tempore gesta à Josepho referuntur, an unius mensis spatio perfici potuerint. Cum Herodes illos quadraginta duos studiosos cum suis præceptoribus cremâssent, *ex eo tempore, inquit Josephus*, morbus Herodis factus est amplior. Totum enim ejus corpus morbo occupatum, variis doloribus differebatur. Nam lento calore torrebatur, qui non tam externo tactu, quam intus viscera popularetur. Prurigo etiam intolerabilis habebat omnem corporis superficiem; assiduis præterea vexabatur coli tormentis, pedesq; tanquam ex intercutis vitio tumuerant. Quin et inflatio veni rictuli, putredoq; virilis membri vermiculos generabant; et præterea creber anhelitus, et interrupta suspiria, membrorumq; omnium contractio eum fatigabant; ita ut, qui hunc morbum ipsi à Deo immissum credebant, ultionem esse dicerent Studiosorum crematorum; ille autem, quamvis cum tot membrorum cruciatibus colluctaretur, tamen se evasurum sperabat, et intentus erat medicis accersendis, et medicamentis conquirendis. Hactenus Josephus. Hæc tu vel tridui spatio facta esse asseris. Quæso te, mi Keplere, cum putrefacta essent Verenda ejus, et scaterent vermibus, et suspiria crebra interromperent ejus verba, quomodo, antequam studiosi illi cremarentur, ad Magistratum Hierosolymitanum in publica concione orationem habere potuit? Si ergo ante crematos studiosos hic morbus non fuit, ergo postea temporis eum invasit. Crescuntne vermes tridui spatio? Et postquam putrefacta essent verenda, vermiculiq; crevissent, quomodo eodem tridui spatio Medicos accersere, et medicamenta conquirere potuit? Certe longius aliquod spatium tanto morbo dabis, cum non esset acutus morbus, sed lentus.

Porro in hoc lento morbo Medici suadent Thermis utendum; igitur Hierosolymis discedit, et Hierichuntem profectus, in thermas deferitur. Hierosolymis enim eum hactenus decubuisse ostendit convocatio Magistratus Hierosolymitani post captivos illos studiosos Hierichuntem ad supplicium

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^a Almost as soon as it was published ; but likewise

plicium abductos. Ex Magistratibus enim illis exquisivit, quorum consilio studiosi tantum (facinus) ausi fuerint ; quibus scientibus et adjuvantibus : At Magistratus illi sibi à crudelitate Herodis metuentes, culpam omnem in professores illos contulerant, et eodem cum discipulis supplicio dignos censuerant. Nihilominus tamen Herodes Pontificem Matthiam pro innocente demittere noluit ; sed quod curam Templi majorem non habuisset, ipsi Pontificatum adimit. Hæc igitur Hierosolymis facta, inde Hierichunte in thermas profectus est, quæ cum ipsi salubres non essent, Hierichuntem rediit, et de recuperanda sanitate desperare incipit. Atrâ bile igitur, inquit Josephus, correptus pene ipsi morti minatus est, factumq; nefarium excogitavit : Nam cum è toto regno, ex singulis vicis, ex universa gente Judæorum juxta edictum ejus nobiliores et auctoritate præminentes ad eum convenissent ; evocaverat enim eos minaci edicto, et pœnam capitis intentaverat omnibus non comparentibus, eosq; in Hippodromo conclusit, et si moreretur, eosdem interfici præcepit, &c. Hosce evocatos, Keplere, confundis cum Magistratibus Hierosolymitanis, quos, antequam morbus ipsius augeretur, convocaverat. Sed præterquam quod illi Hierosolymis convenerunt, hi Hierichunti ; illi tantum vocati erant, hi minaci edicto sub pœna capitis evocati ; illi ex magistratibus Hierosolymitanis, hi ex universa gente Judæorum, ex omnibus urbibus et vicis in toto regno. Hisne etiam bidui et tridui spatium largiendum putas, ut convenire potuerint ? Rectius feceris, si censeas, ipsis vix dimidium mensem suffecisse. Audit postea rex Herodes legatos Româ redeuntes, qui felicissimè res expediverant ; unde exhilaratus paululum, à morbo recreatus est. Indè iterum morbo victus vim sibi inferre conatus est. Cum vero aula atrocitate rei turbata, tumultuaretur, Antipater filius captivus, putans patrem mortem obiisse, oblatis muneribus se ex vinculis à custodibus liberari petiit : Qua de re Herodes irâ adeo exarsit, ut Antipatrum statim juberet occidi, et postea Herodes quinque diebus supervixit.

Mortuum jam Herodem, mi Keplere, sepulturæ eodem ferè die tradis, tanquam hominem de plebe : Nonne dandi erant aliquot dies curando cadaveri, et aromatibus condendo, ut Judæi solebant ? Nonne etiam convocandi fuerunt ipsius liberi,

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wife that he is therein abandoned by the most learned and candid *Tillemont* himself^t. Nay, I cannot but observe, tho' with some Reluctancy, that one of our most eminent Dealers in *Calculations*, *Paradoxes*, and other *Oddities* in Learning; tho' he cannot find in his Heart to part with *Kepler's* Eclipse, but looks upon it as one of the principal Foundations for determining the Chronology of our Saviour Christ; yet at the same Time he computes from the same Eclipse to the Death of *Herod* 185 Days, and from his Death to the next Passover 193 Days; in all 378 Days: And further fairly owns,

liberi, quorum magnum numerum habuit, qui morienti adesse non potuerunt? Nonne etiam evocandi vicini Reges, Principes, Affines, Generi, Dynastæ? qui exequias cohonestarent, qui subito simul adesse non potuerunt? Ad quid profuit magnificus exequiarum apparatus, qui à Josepho describitur, si vulgus tantum spectator fuit? et quo temporis spatio tandem ille apparatus confici potuit? Quid dicam de luctu universæ gentis? Ita enim affirmant Judaicæ gentis Legati, numero quinquaginta à populo selecti, apud Augustum Cæsarem, se, ut conciliarent sibi Archelai benevolentiam, Herodem luctu publico honorasse. Quanto temporis spatio is est indictus? Quamdiu Regem luxerunt? Nonne triginta dies, ut alibi de luctu Josephus affirmat? At hic luctus tamen finitus erat tempore Paschatis, ut ex oratione Legatorum apparet. Num hæc omnia, quæ recensui, quæ post Eclipsim acciderunt, spatio 29 dierum fieri potuerunt? Certè incredibile est, quantumcunq; etiam hæc res gestas in angustum contrahas. Manifestum est igitur mortem Herodis ad Annum Julianum 42, et ad Eclipsim ejus anni Partialem, quæ unico mense à Pascha differt, referri non posse.

^t *Histoire des Empereurs, Tome I. P. ii. Note 1. Sur l'Histoire de la Ruine des Juifs, p. 1054.*

that

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that he does by no means understand how all the Actions and Occurrences between the Eclipse and the Death of *Herod*, nay and even the first Passover under *Archelaus*, can possibly be crowded into a single Month, as is commonly done by Chronologers v. But, 2. Since it now plainly appears from many concurrent Testimonies in *Josephus*, That the Death of *Herod* cannot be placed before *October* or *November*, *An. U. C.* 751. it is most evident that *Herod* cannot be supposed to have fallen ill of his last Sickness till some Time, at least, after the Passover, *An. U. C.* 751. and, consequently, that the Eclipse which *Josephus* says happened the Night after *Matthias* was burnt alive, can have no relation to *Kepler's* Eclipse of the 13th of *March*, *An. U. C.* 750.

I AM willing to flatter myself, that I might here safely enough take my Leave of this Objection. But the Gentlemen with whom I am now more particularly engaged, being, generally speaking, extremely averse from parting with any Notion which they have once espoused, without offering something more feasible

v See Mr. Whiston's Addenda et Corrigenda to his Six Dissertations, published Anno 1734.

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in its Room ; it's great odds but that they may be curious to know, not only what I think of the Eclipse mentioned by *Josephus* ; but likewise why I have placed the Execution of *Matthias* in *July*, *An. U. C. 751.* rather than in the *May* or *June* preceding, or in the *August* or *September* following. Now, to this I answer ; That the Course of the History naturally led me to *July* ; but what principally determined me to fix upon that rather than upon any of the other Months, was this : It is very well known that there are *Spurious*, as well as *Real Eclipses* of the *Moon* ^w ; that *Real Eclipses* never happen, but when the Latitude of the Moon at the Full is less than the Sum of the Semidiameters of the *Moon*, and of the Semidiameter of the *Real Shadow* of the *Earth* : But *Spurious Eclipses* may happen when the Latitude of the Moon exceeds the Sum of those Semidiameters, and even before any Part of her Body can come to be obscured by what *Astronomers* properly call the *Penumbra* of the Earth. Now, I find, That on the 28th Day of *July*, *An. U. C. 751.* and about Ten o'Clock at Night at *Jerusalem*, the Moon was at the Full, and within 13 or 14 Degrees of one of her Nodes ; and, consequently, within a Possibility of suf-

^w Ricciol. *Almagest.* Nov. Lib. v. c. 5, 6.

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fering such an Eclipse, as common Observers might very easily mistake for a *Real One* *.

And

* Bucherius accounts for this Eclipse another Way: Si vero oculis usurpasse se dixerit, *says he*, pronum est cum Christmanno in Alfraganum responsum: *Nomen Eclipsis non propriè semper accipi, sed interdum quoq; pro tenebris seu prodigiis circa Solem et Lunam apparentibus.* Ita Scaliger, lib. vi. Emend. Phlegontis Eclipsim pro ordinariâ non recipit, uti neq; illam Dionis, lib. lvi. neq; Eusebii alteram in excessu Augusti: Idem sentiunt Lucidus, Buntingus, Calvisius, et alii Mathematici celebres. Habet hoc plebs, ut Tenebras et Pallorem circa Planetas apparentem, Eclipsim appellet; præsertim cum superstitione aut etiam religione aliqua ducitur. Sic Plinius et Plutarchus in Cæsare, anno, quo ille cæsus, toto, pallorem Solis fuisse tradunt: Cum, ut Virgilius canit,

Impiaq; æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem.

Quidni et idem in hac Herodis morientis Eclipsi dicamus, præsertim cum ob Matthiæ socios ab Herode vivos exustos, quilibet Judaica plebs in naturæ luctum, Dei; vindictam avidâ superstitione verteret? *Belg. Rom. lib. ii. c. 6. § 4. p. 80.*

And with Bucherius agrees Lamy: Ante autem omnia advertendum est, quanquam Josephus referat tunc Lunam defecisse, non inde sequi *verum fuisse deliquium*, sive veram Eclipsim, quæ non contingit, nisi cum terra inter Solem et Lunam interponitur. Etenim et hoc nomine appellatur quæque *Lunæ obscuritas extraordinaria.* Populi Luminum Pallorem inusitatum cum vero eorum deliquio non raro confundunt. Hujus rei suppetit argumentum apud ipsum Josephum, qui narrat ad Hyrcanum post prælium Philipense, hisce verbis Antonium scripsisse de Bruti et Cassii, cæterorumq; conjuratorum, qui Cæsarem occiderunt, facinore; *Sol ipse illud aversatus videtur, et invitis oculis spectasse.* Petavius autem demonstrat, tunc nullam fuisse Solis defectionem, quando Cæsar interfectus est.—Ergo quod narrat Josephus nocte sequenti vivicomburii Matthiæ Lunam defecisse, ita interpretari possumus, ut populis ob inusitatum Pallorem Luna visa sit deficere. Sed quaecumque fuerit illud deliquium, id proprium habet, ut præcesserit saltē inervallo duorum mensium, Pascha quod subsequetur

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And I do likewise find, that nothing of this Kind could possibly be observed at any of the Full Moons in *May* or *June* before, or in *August* or *September* after ; because at all such Times the Moon was either at a much greater Distance from either of her Nodes, or else the Full Moon happened to fall out in the Day-Time, when no such Eclipse could be observed. Now, for these Reasons, I cannot but take the Liberty to conclude upon the whole, that in all Probability *Matthias* was burnt alive on the 28th Day of *July*, *An. U. C.* 751 ; and that the Eclipse which was observed at *Jerusalem* to happen the Night after, was one of those which *Astronomers* call *Spurious Eclipses* ; or if it was a *Real One*, that all

tum est mortem Herodis ; quæ, quibuscumq; annis adscribatur, certo contigit ante Annum U. C. 753. Quapropter cum omnes defectiones quæ his Octo annis contigerunt, intra quos versatur quæstio de anno emortuali Herodis, hac proprietate careant, facile evincemus hanc defectionem, quæ observata est in Luna nocte dicti vivicomburii, non fuisse verum Lunæ deliquium. *Thus this learned Person argues upon the Hypothesis that Herod's Death happened within a Month or less before one of the Jewish Passovers.* Appar. Chronol. P. I. c. ix. § 6. p. 74—76. *And with both the foregoing Authors agrees the excellent Pagi : Sed certum est, says he, Historicos sæpe Solis Pallorem inusitatum cum vero Solis deliquio confundere : And therefore he judiciously concludes, Sic Eclipsim Lunæ à Josepho memoratam, Eclipsim veram fuisse non constat ; ideoq; et ex illa annus mortis Herodis certo detegi non potest.* Appar. Chronol. in Annal. Baronii, ad Annum Periodi Græco-Romani 5490. Urbis Condita 750. Pag. 35. Ed. Par. 1689.

our

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our best *Theories* of the *Moon's Motions*, which give no Account of it, must still be extremely imperfect.

THE only remaining System or Hypothesis that deserves any Consideration, is that which places the Birth of our Blessed Lord and Saviour in the 748th, or in the 747th Year of *Rome*; and which is said to be founded upon the Authority of several ancient *Coins* and *Medals*. I have observed before from *Tertullian*, That *Sentius Saturninus* was President of *Syria*, when the *First Census* was taken in *Judea* by *Cyrenius*; and I have likewise shewn from *Josephus*, That *Sentius Saturninus* was President of *Syria*, *An. U. C. 750.* and that he probably continued in that Employment some Part of the next Year, till the Arrival of *Quintilius Varus*, who succeeded him therein; and consequently, that the Testimonies of *St. Luke*, *Josephus*, and *Tertullian*, agree perfectly well with one another. But in Opposition to all this, we are told by the same most learned and eminent Writer, from whom we took the former Objections, That it may be proved from several ancient *Coins* and *Medals*, That *Quintilius Varus* was President of

y Tillemont. *Mem. Ecclesiast.* Tome I. Note 4. *Sur le Jour et l'Année de la Naissance de Jesus Christ*, p. 195.

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Syria before Autumn, *An. U. C.* 748. and consequently, that if our Saviour Christ was born on the 25th Day of *December, An. U. C.* 749 or 750. *Tertullian* must have been mistaken, in placing the *First Census* of *St. Luke* under *Sentius Saturninus*: Or, if he is right in placing that *Census* under the Government of *Sentius Saturninus* in *Syria*, that then we must place the Birth of our Saviour either in the Spring of the Year 748, or on the 25th of *December, An. U. C.* 747. And, in consequence hereof it may be observed, That they who admit and argue from the Authority of such Medais, do accordingly differ from one another. For the most learned, accurate, and worthy *Tillemont* ^y, who, in order to differ from *St. Luke* the least that may be, places the Birth of our *Blessed Lord* on the 25th of *December, An. U. C.* 749. thinks that we ought absolutely to abandon *Tertullian* as to this Particular; and to admit that *Quintilius Varus* was President of *Syria*, when our Blessed Saviour was born. But others ^z, whether with a View of derogating from the *Divine Authority* of *St. Luke*, or not, they know best, contend that the Testimony of *Tertullian*

^y *Id. ibid. et Note 2. Sur l'Histoire de N. S. Jesus Christ, p. 188.*

^z The Author of the Two Dissertations, &c. p. 73, 74. upon

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upon this Occasion ought not to be questioned; and consequently they conclude, That the Birth of our Blessed Lord must necessarily be placed either in the Spring of the Year 748, or on the 25th of *December, An. U. C. 747.*

HERE the Reader will easily observe, That the whole Strength of this Argument depends upon the Proof of this one single Point; *viz.* That *Quintilius Varus* was President of *Syria* so early as the 748th Year of *Rome*. If this can be clearly and unexceptionably proved by any ancient *Coins* or *Medals*, the Argument must be allowed to be unanswerable. But if it cannot be clearly and unexceptionably proved by any ancient *Coins* and *Medals*, it will then no ways affect any Thing that I have advanced; and nothing will hinder but that we may still conclude, That our Blessed Lord was really born on the 25th Day of *December, An. U. C. 750.* Let us state the Proofs, and then consider them.

CARDINAL *Noris*, whose learned Works will always do more Honour to his Memory, than the Purple to which his great Merit so justly raised him, was, as far as I know, the first who undertook to demonstrate from ancient *Coins* and *Medals*, That *Varus* was Pre-

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sident of *Syria* so early as the Year of *Rome* 748 ; and he endeavours to prove it thus :

HE observes, That the City of *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*, computed their Years from the *Era* of the *Seleucidae*, till such Time as they came under the Power of the *Romans* ; but that afterwards they computed their Years from Three several *Era's* : 1. From the Year in which *Pompey* granted them the Privilege of living under their own Laws. 2. From the Year in which *Julius Cæsar* confirmed and enlarged the same Privilege to them. And, 3. From the Year in which *Augustus Cæsar* defeated *Mark Antony* at the Battle of *Actium* ^a.

THE First *Era* commenced *An. U. C.* 690. but the Use of it was soon laid aside by the Introduction of the Second ^b.

THE Second commenced from Autumn, *An. U. C.* 705 ^c; and was that which the City of *Antioch* chiefly made use of for several Ages afterwards ; which he proves from Two

^a De Anno et Epochis Syro-Macedonum, Dissert. iii. c. 3. p. 133. Ed. Flor. 1691.

^b Id. ibid. p. 133—138.

^c Idem, Dissert. iii. c. 4. p. 139—143.

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Medals : One of which belonging to the Most Christian King, has on one Side the Head of the Emperor *Galba*, and on the Reverse this Inscription in the Field ;

ΕΠΙ
ΜΟΥΚΙΑ
ΝΟΥ ΑΝ
ΤΙΟΧΕΩ
ΝΕΤ. ΖΙ
Ρ.

THAT is, *Sub Muciano. Antiochenstum. An.* 117. The other was shewn him by the learned *Vaillant*, when he came to make him a Visit at *Florence* in the Year 1685. It had on one Side the Head of *Tiberius* crowned with Laurel, and this Legend, ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ; and on the Reverse in the Field, and within a Garland of Laurel, these Words ;

ΕΠΙ
ΦΛΑΚΚΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ
ΩΝ. ΒΠ.

THAT is, *Sub Flacco. Antiochenstum. An.* no 82. Now, it being certain, That *Galba*
G 2 succeeded

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succeeded *Nero* in *June*, *An. U. C.* 821^d; and was murdered on the 15th Day of *January*, *An. U. C.* 822^e. and that *Publius Licinius Mucianus* was Governor of *Syria* all that Time^f; and since it must be admitted, That this Medal could not be struck after the Murder of *Galba*, or at most not above a Month or Six Weeks after it, and before it could be known at *Antioch*; he rightly concludes, That according to the Date upon this *Medal*, we cannot place the Beginning of this Second *Era* of the *Antiochians*, later than the Autumn of the Year of *Rome* 705. And in like Manner as to the other *Medal*, since it is known that *Pomponius Flaccus* died Governor of *Syria*, in the Year of *Rome* 786^g. He rightly infers, That according to the Date upon that *Medal*, we cannot place the Beginning of the same *Era* later than the Autumn of the 705th Year of *Rome*. And therefore, as to this *Era*, I am very free to own, that he has good Reason to conclude as he does, *Itaq; bina hæc præclara Numismata, Controversiæ de initio Epochæ Antiochenorum, finem jam tandem imponunt*^h.

^d Tillemont *Histoire des Empereurs*, Tom. I. P. i. p. 542.

^e Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 27. pag. 110.

^f Tacit. Hist. lib. i. & ii.

^g Id. Annal. lib. vi.

^h De Anno & Epochis, &c. p. 143.

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THE Third *Era* is that from which he thinks the *Syrians* began to reckon the Years of *Augustus*. In the *Cenotaphia Pisana*, he thinks that at *Antioch* and *Seleucia* they began to reckon the Years of that Prince's Reign, from the Spring of the 724th Year of *Rome*ⁱ: But in his Book *De Anno et Epochis Syromacedonum*, he retracts that Opinion, and concludes that they began to reckon them from the Battle of *Actium*, or from the Autumn of the 723^d Year of *Rome*^k. Now, tho' he owns very freely, that this *Era* is not to be met with in any of the ancient Historians; yet he imagines that it may be proved from some of the Coins of those Cities, in this Manner:

1st, HE produces Three *Antiochian Medals*^l. On one Side of each of them is the Head of *Jupiter Philius*; and on the Reverse of each of them is a Woman sitting on a Rock, with a Mural Crown on her Head, and a Branch of a Palm-Tree in her Hand,

ⁱ *Cenotaph. Pisan.* p. 328.

^k *De Anno et Epochis Syromacedonum*, *Dissert.* iii. c. 7. p. 213.

^l *Id. ibid.* *Dissert.* iii. c. 7. p. 210, 211.

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and underneath the Figure of a River, and this Legend,

ANTIOXEON EΠI OYAPOT.

THAT is, *Antiochensium. Sub Varo.* And in the Field of One of them are the Letters EK: In the Field of the Second are the Letters ZK; and in the Field of the Third are the Letters Ω K; with these Differences, That the first O in the Word ANTIOXEON is wrote with an O *mixtov*, and the last O in the same Word is wrote thus, □; but in the other Two, both the O's are wrote thus, Ω.

2dly, HE produces Three other *Medals* ^k; on one Side of one of them is the Head of *Jupiter Philius*, crowned with *Laurel*, and on the Reverse is a *Ram*, with a Star over it, and the Letters Γ M under it, and this Inscription round about it,

ANTIOXEON EΠI ΣΙΛΑΝΟΥ.

THAT is, *Antiochensium. Sub Silano.* On one Side of the Second, is the Head of *Tiberius* crowned with *Laurel*, with this Inscription;

^k Id. *ibid.* pag. 212, 215.

KAIΣAP

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ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ.

THAT is, *Cæsar Augustus Augusti Filius*; and on the Reverse in the Field, within a Garland of Laurel, is this Inscription;

A.

ΕΠΙ ΣΙ
ΛΑΝΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΟ
ΧΕΩΝ
ΕΜ.

THAT is, as he interprets it, *Anno primo. Sub Silano. Antiochensum. Anno 45.* And on one Side of the Third, is the Head of *Tiberius*, with the same Inscription as on the last; and on the Reverse, within a Garland of Laurel, is this Inscription;

Γ

ΕΠΙ ΣΙ
ΛΑΝΟΥ
ΣΕΛΕΥ
ΚΕΩΝ
ΖΜ.

THAT is, as he renders it, *Anno Tertio, Sub Silano Seleucensium. Anno 47.*

3dly, FROM the Head of *Tiberius* on the Two last *Medals*, he concludes that they must have been struck in the Reign of *Tiberius*: And from the Letters A, and E M, on the Reverse of one of them, he concludes that it must have been struck in the *First Year* of *Tiberius*, and in the 45th Year of our Third *Æra*; and from the Letters Γ and Ζ Μ on the Reverse of the other, he concludes that it must have been coined in the *Third Year* of *Tiberius*, and in the 47th Year of the same *Æra*. Wherefore, continues he, If we count 44 Years backwards from the Autumn of the First Year of *Tiberius*; that is, from Autumn, *An. U. C. 767*; Or, if we count 46 Years backwards from the Autumn in the 3^d Year of *Tiberius*, or from Autumn, *An. U. C. 769*. they will bring us back to the Beginning of this new *Æra*; that is, to Autumn, *An. U. C. 723*. And, *vice versâ*, If we compute the Years marked upon these *Medals* from Autumn, *An. U. C. 723*. it proves that one of them must have been coined in the *First*, and that the other must have been coined in the *Third Year* of *Tiberius*. And from these Coincidences

dences he concludes upon the whole thus :
*Equidem nisi contentiosus ac vitiligandi cupidus, negare possit, illis Literis A. in numma Antiochenorum ; ac Γ. in alio Seleucensium, Annum Primum ac Tertium Principatus Tiberii significari*¹.

4thly, HAVING thus fixed the Beginning of his *Third Era*, He concludes that the Years marked on the abovementioned *Three Medals of Varus*, must likewise be computed from the same Time, and consequently, that the first of them which is marked E K, *Anno 25*, must be allowed to prove that *Varus* was come to *Antioch*, and that he had taken upon himself the Government of *Syria*, before Autumn *An. U. C. 748. m.*

THUS that great and learned *Antiquary* argues. And indeed, if we were to be governed solely by any *Imaginary Coincidences*, or by any *Abstract Reasonings* upon *Medals*, it must be owned, that nothing could be more ingeniously contrived, or better put together, or more adapted to persuade, than these Proofs are : But, if the Reader will be pleased to

¹ Id. *ibid.* p. 216.

^m Id. *ibid.* p. 217.

take Courage, and to look a little more narrowly into their *Real* Strength, I am greatly mistaken, if he does not find them as *harmless* and *inoffensive*, with regard to any thing that I have hitherto taken the Liberty to lay down, as any body could desire or wish. For,

1. I HAVE always thought that the chief, if not the only Use of *Medals*, was, Either to illustrate the *Ancient Historians*; or to confirm what might otherwise appear doubtful; or to supply something which might be found wanting in them; But I cannot easily persuade myself, that they can or ought to be applied to undermine and destroy the Credit and Authority of any of them. As for Example, *Josephus* informs us, That *Sentius Saturninus* did not quit the Government of *Syria* till some Time at least after *Antipater* had set out upon his last Journey to *Rome*; and he likewise observes, That *Quintilius Varus* was but just come to relieve *Sentius Saturninus*, when *Herod* invited him to come to *Jerusalem*, and assist at the Trial of *Antipater*, upon his Return from *Rome*. Now from these Accounts, what can be more evident than this, That *Quintilius Varus* did not come to succeed *Sentius Saturninus* in the Government of *Syria*, till the very Year in which
Herod

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Herod died, *An. U. C. 751*? But what says the learned *Noris* to this? Why, In the *Cenotaphia Pisana* ⁿ, he admits all this in so many Words: *Anno U. C. 751*, says he, *quo Herodes decessit, Quintilius Varus Præses ac Legatus Augusti nuper in Syriam venerat, uti colligitur ex Josepho, lib. xvii. c. 7. et Tacito lib. v. Histor. ubi ait, Post mortem Herodis nihil expectato Cæsare, Simon quidem regium nomen invaserat: Is à Quintilio Varo, obtinente Syriam, punitus, et gentem coercitam liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. C. Sentius Saturninus Vari decessor fuit, uti ex Josepho intelligitur.* But in his Book *de Anno et Epochis Syromacedonum*, he changes his Mind, and produces Three Medals, coined at *Antioch*, with the Name of *Varus*, and the Years 25, 26, and 27 upon them; and from the Number of the Years marked upon the first of them he concludes, That *Varus* must have been Governor of *Syria* before Autumn *An. U. C. 748*. But how does he support this Conclusion? Because he thinks those Years must be computed from the Battle of *Actium*, or from Autumn *An. U. C. 723*. And why does he think they ought to be computed from that Year? Because the Years upon some

ⁿ Dissert. ii. c. 7. p. 157, 158.

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of *Silanus's* Medals, which were coined at the same Place about 20 Years after, are, as he supposes, computed from that Time. But supposing, tho' not granting, that the Years upon *Silanus's* Medals might be computed from the Battle of *Actium*, How does it follow from thence, That the Years upon *Varus's* Medals, which were coined many Years before, must be computed from the same Time? Might not the Years upon *Varus's* Medals be reckoned from one *Epocha*, and the Years upon *Silanus's* from another? Or has the learned Author assigned any Reasons to prove that the Years upon both must necessarily be computed from one and the same *Epocha*? If he has, I must own that I have not yet been so happy as to meet with them; but if he has not, What are we to conclude upon the Whole? Are we to prefer his Conjectures upon these Three Medals, to the express Testimony of so considerable a Writer as *Josephus*? Or shall we still abide by the Authority of *Josephus*, and reject the Construction which he would put upon them? Methinks, it will require no great Penetration to determine which Side of the Question we ought to chuse.

2. THE learned Cardinal is pleased to say, That none but a *Wrangler*, or a very quarrel-

some

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some Person will deny, but that the Letter A upon the *Coins* of *Antioch*, and the Letter Γ upon the *Coins* of *Seleucia*, must signify the *First* and *Third* Years of the Reign of *Tiberius*. But, with humble Submission, I know not what other Conclusion we can draw from such a peevish Reflexion as this, but only that the Crabbedness of the Subject, or, perhaps, the Perplexity which he might be in, for want of better Arguments to support his Opinion, might for once have got the better of his Eminency's good Manners. But be that as it will, I humbly think it will be no difficult Matter to shew that the Letters A and Γ are capable of divers other Interpretations; and consequently, that it cannot be proved from them alone, that these Medals were coined in the *First* and *Third* Years of *Tiberius*. For,

I. WE are informed by another great and learned Antiquary o, " That most Nations
" made use of different *Epocha's*, and marked
" the

• Plurimi populi Annos in Nummis, ut in eorum Epochis videre est, signârunt. Quidam præsertim Ægyptii ad annum notandum usi sunt Literâ L. antiquiore A. quod vetustissimis marmoribus etiam evincitur, et ΑΥΚΑΝΤΟΣ sonat. Alii adhibent E. ET. ETO. et aliquando integram vocem ΕΤΟΥΣ, Anno. Alii vero solas Arithmeticas No-
tas

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“ the Years on their Coins accordingly. Some
 “ use the Letter L. or Λ. to denote the Years;
 “ others use E. ET. ETO. and sometimes the
 “ whole Word ΕΤΟΥΣ, *Anno*—— But it
 “ must be observed, says he, that they very
 “ rarely make use of one single Letter, with-
 “ out L. or ET. to denote Years. For, single
 “ Letters for the most Part are only the Mint-
 “ Master’s Marks, and have *deceived many*
 “ *Antiquaries.*” Now, if single Letters are
 for the most part only the Marks of Mint-
 Masters, and if they have *deceived many An-*
tiquaries, How can it be proved that the Let-
 ter A on the *Coins of Antioch*, and the Let-
 ter Γ on the *Coins of Seleucia*, are not the
 Marks of the Mint-Masters of those Cities
 respectively? Or, How can it be proved, that
 the Mint-Masters of *Antioch* and *Seleucia* did
 not set these Letters on their Coins to denote
 the First and Third Years of their Coinage;
 as the Cardinal himself ^P elsewhere conjectures
 of the Γ and Δ on the *Coins of Gaza*?

tas posuerunt : Sed observandum illos rarissime unam et
 solam literam sine L. vel ET. ad annum exprimendum scal-
 pere, quæ ut plurimum Monetarii nota est, et Antiquarios
 deludit. *Vaillant de Græcorum Numismatum Notis Arith-*
meticis, ad calcem operis de Numismatibus Græcis, pag.
 360. Ed. Amstel. 1700.

^P De Epoch. Syromaced. p. 417—421.

2. THE same learned Antiquary shews^a, That the Letters A. B. Γ. upon some Medals, denote the First, Second, and Third Year of such or such a Person's being Governor over this or that Province: Who then can tell whether the Letters A and Γ upon *Silanus's* Medals may not denote the First and Third Years of his Government over *Syria*?

3. ACCORDING to *Strabo*^r, and *Pliny*^e, *Antioch*, *Laodicea apud Mare*, and *Seleucia Pieria*, were the Three principal Cities of *Syria*. Now, since it thus appears that some of the Medals of *Antioch* are marked with an A; and that some of *Seleucia* are marked with a Γ; and since the learned *Patin*^v has likewise given us a Medal of *Laodicea* marked with the Letter B: Why may we not conclude, That these Letters A. B. Γ. were set upon the Coins of those Cities respectively, to denote the Rank and Dignity which each of them claimed, and was intitled to, in the Province to which they belonged? At least, as to *Antiochia* and *Seleucia*, why may we

^a Histor. Prolemæorum, p. 192, 193.

^r Lib. xvi. p. 749, 750.

^e Tom. I. lib. v. § 18. p. 265.

^v Imperat. Roman. Numism. p. 9. Ed. Par. 1697.

not conclude, That the Letter A was set upon the Coins of the former, to denote its being the First and Principal of all the Free Cities of *Syria*? Why may we not conclude that the Letter upon the Coins of the other, which we now take for a Γ, was originally a Π, which is the first Letter of the Word ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ; and consequently, that it might be set on the Medals of that City to distinguish them from those which might be coined in other Cities of the same Name?

4. That the Medal of *Silanus* marked A, could not be coined in the first Year of *Tiberius's* Reign, may, with some Probability, be gathered from hence: Because upon this Medal *Tiberius* has the Title of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ given him; which, if it means the same as that of *Augustus*, is a Title that he never assumed, at least not till after the Death of *Germanicus*, as *Dio* informs us ^w. Now, if he was so tender of using such a Title himself towards the Beginning of his Reign; who else would presume to put it upon any of his Coins?

^w Lib. lvii. p. 606, 607. And to the same Purpose the Words of *Suetonius* (in *Tiber. lib. iiii. c. 26.*) are very remarkable; *ac ne AUGUSTI quidem nomen quanquam hereditarium, ullis nisi ad Reges ac Dynastas epistolis addidit.* Which, according to the learned *Pagi*, imports, *Quod Tiberius cognomen Augusti initio non admisit.* Crit. Histor. Chronol. in Annal. Baron. p. 15.

5. I AM told that there is a Medal in his Grace the Duke of *Devonshire's* Collection *, which has on one Side the Head of *Tiberius*, without any Ornament upon it, the Legend TIBEPIOΣ ; and on the Reverse the Head of a Woman veiled, the Legend MHTHP. EIII. ΓΕΙΣΚΟΥ. and in the Field the Letters Γ Μ. *An.* 43. Now, if the *Epocha* from which the Years upon this Medal are reckoned, be the same with that from which the Years Γ Μ. *An.* 43. upon one of *Silanus's* Medals, are reckoned, as it is very probable it may, then it will follow, That the Medal of *Silanus*, marked Γ Μ could not be coined before the First Year of *Tiberius*, at the soonest ; and consequently, That the Medal of *Silanus*, marked A. and E M. could not be coined till at least Two Years after the Time pitched upon by the learned Cardinal.

6. SINCE the learned Cardinal is pleased to own, That there is nothing in History whereby it can be proved, that the *Antiochians*, or indeed that any other Nation or City whatsoever, ever reckoned their Years from the Battle of *Actium* ; since he can give no Instance of

* Tesoro Britannico, Vol. II. p. 180. Plate ii. No. 10.

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any such Thing being done by the *Antiochians*, in the Life-time of *Augustus* himself ; since he acknowledges that always after this Time they reckoned their Years from the *Cæsarean Era* ; that is, from the Autumn of the Year of *Rome* 705 ; nay, since he is constrained to admit ⁷, That they reckoned their Years from this *Era*, even in the Life time of *Augustus*, and that so lately as the Year of *Rome* 759 ; What Ground or Reason can there be to imagine that they should make use of the *Era* of the Battle of *Actium* upon their Coins, only for One, Two, or Three Years after the Death of *Augustus*, and never once before nor after that Time ?

7. and lastly, If these Reasons are not alone sufficient to shew the Weakness and Inconclusiveness of the learned Cardinal's Arguments, give me leave to add one more. One of the Medals which he makes use of to prove that the Second *Era* of the *Antiochians* began from Autumn *An. U. C.* 705. was, as he tells us himself ², a Medal which Dr. *Vailiant* shewed him at *Florence* in the Year 1685 ; which had on one Side the Head of *Tiberius* crowned with Laurel, and this Legend, TIBE-

⁷ De Epochis, p. 225.

² De An. et Epoch. Syromaced. p. 142.

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ΠΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ; and on the Reverse in the Field within a Garland of Laurel this Inscription ;

ΕΠΙ
ΦΛΑΚΚΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧ Ε
ΩΝ. ΕΤ. ΒΠ.

THAT is, *Sub Flacco. Antiochenſum. An.* 82. And from this Inſcription he rightly infers, That it muſt have been coined between Autumn and *December, An. U. C. 786.* and conſequently in the 20th Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*. Now, whether his Memory did or did not fail him, as to ſome Particulars relating to this *Medal*, I know not ; but if the *Medal* of *Flaccus*, which *Dr. Vaillant* himſelf has given us in his *Familiae Romanae*^a, be the ſame that he ſhewed to the Cardinal at *Florence, An. 1685.* it is certain that his Memory muſt have failed him very much. For this *Medal*, as *Vaillant* himſelf has given it us, has on one Side the Head of *Tiberius*, without any Ornament, and round about it theſe Words ;

ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ.

^a *Vaillant's Nummi Antiqui Familiarum Romanorum. In Familia Pomponia, Tab. cxvi. N^o. 22. Ed. Amſtel. 1703.*

AND on the Reverse, within a Garland of Laurel, this Inscription in the Field :

A.

ΕΠΙ ΦΛ

ΑΚΚΟΥ

ΑΝΤΙΟ

ΧΕΩΝ

ΒΠ.

Now, if the Letter A upon the Second of *Silanus's* Medals, denotes that it was coined in the First Year of *Tiberius*, and consequently, that the 45th Year likewise marked upon the same, was concurrent with the First Year of that Prince's Reign ; I would be glad to know what the same Letter denotes upon this Medal of *Flaccus*, which the learned Cardinal admits could not be coined before the 20th Year of *Tiberius* ? Can the same Letter A upon one Medal denote the First Year of *Tiberius*, and upon another Medal, coined in one and the same City, denote the 20th Year of the same Prince ? But, if this be too absurd to be supposed, Does it not demonstrably follow, that the Letter A was not put to denote the Years of *Tiberius's* Reign in either of them ?

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them? And if so, Is it not evident, that by thus breaking the first and principal Link of the learned Cardinal's Chain, the Whole is rendered intirely usefess and unserviceable to the Purpose for which he intends it? May we not therefore very safely take the Liberty to conclude upon the Whole, That there is nothing; no not the least Probability, in any of the Reasons which he has offered, to induce us to think that *Quintilius Varus* was come into, or had taken upon himself, the Government of *Syria*, so early as the Year of *Rome* 748?

I SHALL only beg Leave to add, That had not the many great and valuable Discoveries which this most learned and worthy Person has made in *Antiquities*, raised, and, perhaps, encouraged his Passion for Novelty a little too much, I cannot but think that he might have found a much easier and more natural Way to account for the Years marked on these Medals, than what he has proposed.

It is very well known, That in the Month of *January*, *An. U. C.* 727 ^b. *Octavianus Caesar*

^b Dio, lib. liii. p. 497—507. According to the Inscription in *Gruter*, Vol. i. p. 229. *Augustus* commenced Governor of the World on the 7th of *January*, *Septimo Idus Januarii Imperium Orbis Terrarum auspicatus est*. According to *Ovid* (*Fast.* lib. i. p. 455. et in mense Januario) *Augustus*

Cæsar made an Offer to resign the Government of the Empire into the Hands of the Senate ; that upon their refusing to receive his Resignation, he accepted of the Empire, as from them, for Ten Years : That thereupon he made a Distribution of the Provinces between the Senate and himself ^c ; allowing them to name the Governors of those Provinces which lay the most remote from Danger, and reserving to himself those only which were most exposed to the Incursions and Ravages of other bordering Nations ; and among them the Province of *Syria* for one : And, in short, that with this new Authority the Senate conferred many Honours upon him, and among the rest the Title of *Augustus* ; and that from the Calends of *January* this Year, the celebrated *Epocha* of the *Anni Augustorum*, or *Anni Augustani*, as *Censorinus* ^d calls them, commenced.

Now, since we have here a known and noted *Epocha*, which, according to the *Roman*

gustus surrendered the Provinces to the *Roman* People on the 13th of *January* (*Idibus Januarii*) and the same Day, or the next, being the 14th of *January* (*Decimo nono Calendas Februarii*) the Senate gave him the Title of *Augustus*. But, according to *Censorinus*, he did not receive this Title till the 17th of *January* (*Decimo sexto Calendas Februarii*).

^c Dio, lib. liii. p. 503, 504. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 840.

^d De Die Natali, c. 21. p. 128. c. 22. p. 136.

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man Style, commenced on the First Day of *January*, *An. U.C.* 727. and which, consequently, according to the Custom of the *Syrians*, who began their Years from Autumn, must have commenced with them from Autumn, *An. U. C.* 726. and since it may be gathered from *Tacitus* ^e, That *Cn. Piso*, who was sent to supersede *Silanus*, did not, in all Probability, arrive at *Antioch* till after Autumn *An. U. C.* 771. and consequently, that *Silanus* did not leave *Syria* till the 46th Year of the *Augustan Era*, according to the Style of *Antioch*; What hinders but that we may reckon the Years upon all *Silanus's Medals* from this *Epocha*? I know but one Objection to it; which yet, all other Things considered, is, in my humble Opinion, but a very trifling one. For, if it should be said, That the Date upon the last of them, *viz.* *ZM, Anno 47.* will either extend the Government of *Silanus* in *Syria* beyond the Year of *Rome* 771. or else that these Years must be

^e Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. p. 277. Sequens Annus (*viz.* Annus *U. C.* 771.) Tiberium tertio, Germanicum iterum Consules habuit. Sed eum honorem Germanicus iniit apud urbem Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso in Dalmatia agente——— p. 286. Ex in navigatione celeri (*Cn. Piso*) per Cycladas, et compendia Maris, adsequitur Germanicum apud Insulam Rhodum, haud nescium quibus infectionibus petitus foret—.

reckoned from an *Era* commencing before the Autumn of the Year of *Rome* 726; I cannot but think that we may very easily suppose that the Z upon this Medal, is, by mistake, put for Σ (for upon one of *Varus's* Medals we find the Date wrote thus Σ K); that is, for Ζ , *S*, or Ϝ , the *Greek* Mark for the Figure 6. And consequently, that instead of reading the Date Ζ M, *An.* 47. it ought to be read Ϝ M, *An.* 46. which reconciles every Thing to History. And I am the more inclined to think that this Emendation ought not to be intirely rejected; because I find that Coin of *Agrippa*, which in *Bouteroué* (*Recherche Curieuse de Monoyes de France*, p. 30.) has the Year marked upon it L. Ϝ . has the same Year marked upon it (in *Molinet's Cabinet de la Bibliotheque de Sainte Genevieve*, Plate XXII. Fig. 11.) thus, L. Σ . And accordingly *Seguin* (*Select. Numism. Antiq.* p. 334.) reads the Date upon one of *Agrippa's* Medals ETO. KZ. thus, *Anno* 26. And it is moreover observable, That Σ in the *Phœnician* or *Samaritan* Alphabet, given us by the learned *Montfaucon* ^f, answers to Ϝ in the *Greek* Alphabet.

^f Palæograph. Græc. lib. ii. c. i. p. 122.

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BUT whether this be so or not, one Thing, I think, I may lay down for certain, which is this; That upon the Supposition the *Syrians* might, upon some Occasions, make use of this famous *Epocha* upon their *Coins*; the Years upon all *Varus's* Medals will be found to agree perfectly well with the Time which I have assigned from *Josephus*, for his first coming into and entering upon the Government of *Syria*. For the lowest Date upon them, viz. E K, Anno 25. being computed from Autumn An. U. C. 726. shews that that Medal must have been coined at *Antioch*, between Autumn An. U. C. 750. and Autumn An. U. C. 751. And I have before proved from *Josephus*, That *Q. Varus* entered upon the Government of *Syria* some Time between *January* and Autumn, An. U. C. 751. And if this be not abundantly sufficient to shew, That the Years upon *Varus's* Medals are so far from contradicting the History of *Josephus*, as to this Particular, that they do, in fact, exceedingly illustrate and confirm it; I would be glad to know what better Proof any one would desire from Medals.

IF the Reader would not think me tedious, I would beg leave to offer one Observation more upon these Medals of *Varus* and *Silanus*,
before

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before I take leave of them. The learned Author of the *Two Dissertations upon the true Years of the Birth and of the Death of Christ*, is pleased to tell us, (Page 90, 139, 140.)
 “ That *Tiberius’s* Reign had Two Beginnings ;
 “ one from the Death of *Augustus*, from
 “ which all the *Roman* Historians compute ;
 “ the other from the Time that *Augustus*
 “ made *Tiberius* his Collegue and Associate
 “ in the Empire, by giving him an equal Au-
 “ thority to his own, over all the *Roman*
 “ Provinces and Armies, which was done in
 “ the Year of *Rome* 764, about Three Years
 “ before the Death of *Augustus*. And hence
 “ it follows, says he, That those in the Pro-
 “ vinces might justly and reasonably reckon
 “ the Beginning of *Tiberius’s* Reign over
 “ them from the Year 764. tho’ the *Romans*
 “ always computed it from the Death of *Au-*
 “ *gustus*, *An. U.C.* 767. And so *Luke*, be-
 “ ing a *Syrian*, is thought to have called such
 “ a Year the 15th of *Tiberius*, which with
 “ the others would be but the 12th.” Now
 this, I own, is a very material Distinction ;
 for it is one of the main Pillars of our Au-
 thor’s whole System : And therefore I would
 beg to be informed, If the *Syrians* reckoned
 the Years of *Tiberius* from the 764th Year of
Rome, as he all along supposes in his Second
 Dissertation

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Dissertation they did, How came he to espouse Cardinal *Noris's* Hypothesis (*Dissert. i. pag. 64, 65.*) ; who maintains, upon the Authority of the above-mentioned Medals, That at *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*, they reckoned the Years of *Tiberius* from the Death of *Augustus*? For, to make use of an Argument *ad hominem* for once, those Medals prove, either that the *Antiochians* and *Syrians*, and consequently *St. Luke*, who was a *Syrian*, reckoned the Years of *Tiberius* from the Death of *Augustus*, or they do not. If they do *not*, Why does this learned Author make use of them, as he does, (*Dissert. i. p. 64, 65.*) to prove that *Varus* was *President of Syria, An. U. C. 748*? And if they do, Upon what Grounds can he pretend to say that the *Syrians*, and among the rest *St. Luke*, reckoned the Years of *Tiberius* from the 764th Year of *Rome*? Methinks an Author, who could take the Liberty to tax any of the Sacred Writers with Inconsistency, should have taken more Care not to have fallen into such palpable Contradictions himself. He might have been pleased to remember his own Words, (*Dissert. i. p. 40.*) *That Dates and Facts will not thus give Way, to accommodate Systems.*

I HAD once resolved to put an End to this little Dissertation here. But now I am upon

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the Subject of Medals, I cannot conclude without taking some Notice of One or Two more. One is a small Brass *Medal*, which the learned *Harduin* tells us g, he saw among M. *Begon's* Collection of Curiosities : On one Side of which was this Inscription, ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ. L. ΜΓ. *Palma* : And on the other this, ΓΑΙΩ. ΚΑΙΣΑ. ΓΕΡΜ. ΣΕΒ. *in Corona*. The other is a Medal of the same Metal and Size with the foregoing, and was formerly in the Possession of M. *Rigord*, a Person of Distinction at *Marseilles* ; and it has been thought to be of such Consequence, that the most learned Cardinal *Noris* has taken the Pains to write a pretty large Dissertation upon it h. On one Side of it, within a Laurel Crown, is this Inscription, ΓΑΙΩ. ΚΑΙ. CA. ΓΕΡ...ΝΙΚΩ. And on the Reverse is the Branch of a Palm-Tree, with the Letter L on one Side of it, and the Letters ΜΓ on the other ; and this Legend round about it, ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ. Now, from the Date and Legend on one Side of the first of these Medals, the learned *Harduin* concludes, that it must

g De Nummis Herodiadum, p. 12.

h Vid. Epistolam ejus ad Eruditiss. et Clariss. Virum, P. Antonium Pagium, de Nummo Herodis Antipæ ; ad calcem operis de Anno et Epochis Syromacedonum.

have

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have been coined in the 43^d Year of *Herod*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*; but there being no Date on the other Side, to shew in what Year of *Caius Caligula* it was coined, he thinks ⁱ it must therefore have been coined in the First Year of *Caius*, *An. U. C.* 790. and consequently, that *Herod* must have been constituted Tetrarch of *Galilee*, in the Year of *Rome* 748. and that about Eight Years before the Death of his Father, *Herod the Great*. But this Interpretation being coined only with a View of supporting a favourite, and, in my poor Opinion, a very ill-grounded *Hypothesis*, of his own, and which I have not yet found that any of the Learned, besides himself, have or are inclined to come into; I shall take no further Notice of it in this Place.

ON the other hand, the learned *Tillemont* was possessed with such an Opinion of the Second Medal, that he thinks it may be proved from it, That *Herod the Great* died *An. U. C.* 750. From the Medal itself it appears, says he ^k, That it must have been coined in the 43^d Year of *Herod Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*; and so far he goes Hand in Hand with

ⁱ De Num. Herod. pag. 47, 48.

^k Note 1. Sur l'Histoire de la Ruine des Juifs, p. 1054.

the learned *Harduin* : But then he adds, And it likewise appears from *Josephus*, That this *Herod* was deprived of his Tetrarchy by *Caius* (some short Time after *Agrippa* his Nephew returned into *Judea* with the Title of King) in the Year of *Rome* 791. or at the latest, in the Year of *Rome* 792. Wherefore, continues he, if you subtract 42 complete Years from 792. there will remain 750. Which proves that he must have succeeded in the Tetrarchy of *Galilee*, *An. U. C.* 750. and consequently, That his Father *Herod the Great* must have died in that same Year. But the Answer to this is easy : For,

First, As to these Medals themselves ; I own, That there seems to me to be great Reason to think that they are *Spurious*, and not *Genuine*. For, tho' the learned *Tillemont* is pleased to say, That M. *Rigord's* Medal was thought to be unquestionably genuine ; yet it is very well known that the learned Cardinal *Noris* not only had some Suspicion about its being Genuine, when his learned Friend first sent him an Account of it¹, but likewise that he speaks doubtfully of it,

¹ In Præfatione Operis De Anno et Epochis Syromacedonum. Jam vero ex hoc, modo Spurius non sit, precioso nummo, &c.

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it, even after he had taken the Pains to write a large Dissertation upon it ^m. And had he seen M. *Begon's Medal*, and compared it with M. *Rigord's*, I am persuaded he would have been more and more confirmed in his Opinion, That one or other, or both of them are spurious. They are both of the same Size, and made of the same Metal; and both are pretended to be coined in one and the same Year, and probably in one and the same Mint: And yet, in that belonging to M. *Rigord*, the Word ΣΕΒ. is wanting, which the other has; and the *Sigma* in *Cæsar*, on one Side is wrote after this Manner, C; and the same Letter in the Words Ηγεωδης and Τετραρχης, on the other Side is wrote after another Form, thus Ε. And, on the other hand, in M. *Begon's Medal*, the *Sigma* in all the Words on both Sides is always wrote thus, Σ. Now, unless some one or other of our learned Antiquaries will be pleased to shew me, That it was usual

^m In Epistola ad Anton. Pagium, de Nummo Herodis Antipæ, circa finem. Num vero Anachronismos admiserim, Tu videris, qui me exponendis tot diversis Syromacedonum Epochis lassum, in novas hasce Chronologicas Tricas conjecisti; quas tamen pro eximia tua eruditione, ac singulari Doctrinæ Temporum peritia, longe probabilius expedies; simulq; ex Herodianæ Tetrarchiæ Annis, probabiliorem de Anno Natali Christi Domini sententiam invicto, modo Nummus sit legitimus, Testimonio demonstrabis. And again, a little lower, Ne quid tamen te celem, initio dubitabam

usual with the old Mint-Masters, to coin Medals in the same Year, and in the same Mint, with such Differences, either in the Titles of the Emperors, or in the Shape of the Letters of the Inscriptions upon them ; I say, unless they will be pleased to make this clearly out to me, they must hold me excused, if I take the Liberty to conclude, that all such Medals as these must be *Spurious*, and of no Authority at all in a Controversy of this Nature.

Secondly, As to the Date upon these *Medals*, viz. L. MF. Anno 43. if it be supposed to be intended to denote the Years of the Reign of *Herod Antipas*, after the Death of his Father, I think it will evidently prove the Medals themselves to be *spurious*. For Cardinal *Noris* himselfⁿ, who places the Death of *Herod the Great* in

bam de nummo, quem non videram, quidpiam publicè in literas mittere, nè, si ille forte esset adulterinus, bellam fabulam luderem, ac omnia de eodem mihi commentata, pura puta commenta forent. At malui tibi morem gerere ; siquidem in laudum partem repono, meum ergo te obsequium, etiam cum periculo irrisationis, ostendere. Ceterum quoscunq; calculos huic meæ dissertatiunculæ adjicias, spero fore, ut quæ minus in eâ tibi probabuntur, præmissa veterum anonymi fastorum editio compenset. *I have quoted this great Antiquary's Words at large ; because they plainly shew, That he never was thoroughly satisfied as to the Genuineness of M. Rigord's Medal.*

ⁿ Id. ibid. p. 55. His prænarratis, paucis inquiram, Num exilium Herodis Tetrarchæ hoc Anno (U. C. 792.) statui possit.

in Autumn, *An. U. C.* 750 ; and who acknowledges that the Deprivation and Banishment of *Herod Antipas* cannot be placed later than *August, An. U. C.* 792. is forced to confess, That if the latter of these Medals was coined in the 43^d Year of *Herod Antipas*, it must have been coined after the Deprivation and Banishment of that Prince, and before the News of it could arrive in *Judea*. But I will submit it to any body to judge, whether it be at all likely that any of the Mints within his Jurisdiction would coin Money with the Title of *Tetrarch* upon it, when at the same Time they well knew that he was gone to *Rome*, on purpose to solicit for the higher and more honourable Title of King ; or whether they would

possit. Cum obitus Herodis Magni contigerit labente Autumno, A. Urbis 750. et, ut ex Hebræorum monumentis tradit Usserius, die 7 Calæu, nempe die 25 Novembris, anni duo ac quadraginta Tetrarchiæ Herodis Antipæ existiissent die 24 Novembris, A. U. 792. cæptusq; fuisset annus Principatus Antipæ 43 in nummo obsignatus. At Caius id temporis erat in Expeditione Germanica, et ad Rhenum bellum haud satis belle fingeat. Josephus disertè testatur Herodem à Caio Cæsare apud Baias diversante, exilio mulctatum. Caius ante exitum Augusti ex Campania Romanam, Diem Natalem ibidem celebraturus, redierat ; indeq; in Umbriam, ac statim ad Rhenum profectus est. Num fortè Herodes Tetrarcha, declinante Augusto mense, apud Baias damnatus fuit, priusquam Caius in urbem reverteretur, cujus Herodes infortunii nuncius mense Septembri ferè extremo in Galilæam delatus est, paucos ante dies eo nummo obsignato cum Anno Principatus Herodis tertio ac quadagesimo, quem tamen idem in exilium missus, reapse non iniiit ?

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not much rather have chosen to wait a Month or Two longer, in Hopes of hearing of his Success, and of receiving his Orders for adorning their new Coins with a Title, which they knew he had set his Heart so much upon, and which he had taken so much Pains to obtain?

BUT further ; if the Reader will be pleased to consider, That according to *Josephus*, the Death of *Herod the Great* cannot be placed earlier than Autumn, *An. U. C.* 751. and that in all Probability *Herod Antipas* arrived at *Baie* in *Italy*, in *April* or *May*, *An. U. C.* 792. and consequently, that he must have been deprived of his Tetrarchy, and banished to *Lyons* in *France*, in the 41st Year of his Reign : I say, if we fairly consider these Things, What other Conclusion can we come to upon the Whole, but that these Medals carry sufficient Marks of their own Illegitimacy along with them ; or else that they must have been coined before *Herod Antipas* had any Thoughts of going to *Rome*, to solicit for the *Royal Dignity* ; and that the Date upon them must denote the Years of the City where they were coined ; altho' we cannot now, at this Distance of Time, tell the Name of it, nor yet guess at the *Era* from which they computed them ?

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I HAVE now said all that I think necessary upon the Subject of *Ancient Coins and Medals*. But as I would not willingly leave any Thing unanswered, that carries the least Colour of an Objection, I hope the Reader will have the Goodness to excuse me, if I take the Liberty to detain him a little longer.

It is agreed on all Hands, That *Herod* was declared King of *Judea* at *Rome*, *An. U. C.* 714. and from *Dio's* Account of the Civil Wars between *Cæsar* and *Antony*, the most learned *C. Noris* ° has fully proved, That this Honour could not be conferred upon him till towards the latter End of *September*, or the Beginning of *October*, in that Year ^P. And I have likewise observed, That according to *Josephus*, *Herod* and *Sosius* took *Jerusalem* in the Consulship of *Marcus Agrippa*

• *Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert. ii. c. 6. p. 139.* Atq; hoc pacto ille regium fastigium adeptus est *An. U. C.* 714. *Cn. Domitio Calvino* iterum, *C. Afinio Pollione* *Cons.* Ex *Chronologia* validis ratiociniis stabilita, palam mihi colligitur, *Herodem*, labente *Octobri*, regnum à Romanis accepisse.

^P Vid. *Lamy in Apparatu Chronologico, cap. 6. § 2. p. 30, 32.* Quâ tempestate Anni, non dicit *Josephus*: Sed quoniam non nisi versus finem anni *Cæsar* et *Antonius* dissidia sua composuerunt, credo *Herodi* delatum regnum in autumno circa *Octobrem* aut *Novembrem* mensem. *Antigonus* ex *Josepho* tres annos et totidem menses regnavit, quibus exactis, postea deturbatus est ab *Herode*.

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and *Caninius Gallus*, *An. U. C.* 717. But with regard to this, our illustrious Antiquary thinks that *Josephus* must be mistaken ; and that we ought rather to depend upon *Dio*, who places it in the Consulship of *Claudius* and *Norbanus*, *An. U. C.* 716. And his Reasons for being of this Opinion are these :
 1. He imagines that from *Josephus's* own Account it may be proved, That there passed no more but Two Winters between the Time of *Herod's* being declared King at *Rome*, and the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Sosius* and himself ; and that therefore, instead of saying that he took the City, *Anno tertio postquam Romæ declaratus fuerat Rex*, he ought to have said, *Anno altero* ^a. 2. He thinks it may be proved from *Dio*, *Appian*, and *Plutarch*, That the last total Defeat of the *Parthian* Army by *Ventidius* ought to be placed *An. U. C.* 715 ^r. and consequently, that the Siege of *Jerusalem* by *Herod* and *Sosius*, which it is admitted was not undertaken till the Year after that memorable Battle, is rightly placed by *Dio*, *An. U. C.* 716.

^a *De Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert. ii. c. 6. p. 146.* Ex Josephi scriptis Herodi ab accepto regno à Romanis, *An. U. C.* 714. ad captam Hierosolymam, una tantum et altera hyems exacta colligitur, quod miror neminem hucusq; observasse.

^r *Ibid. p. 143—145.*

Now,

Now, in Answer to these Reasons I cannot help saying, That they seem to me to be founded upon so many, and such palpable Mistakes and *Anachronisms*, that I cannot enough wonder how so learned and accurate a Writer as *C. Noris*, could possibly fall into them.

As to *Josephus*, If we compare his Account with those of *Appian* and *Dio*, nothing, I think, can be more evident, than that there must have passed Three Winters between the Time of *Herod's* being declared King at *Rome*, and the Taking of *Jerusalem* by *Sosius* and himself. For,

Ist. I PRESUME it will be admitted, That according to *Josephus* ^t, *Herod* did not appear, or pretend to enter upon Action, in *Judea*, till *Ventidius* had recovered *Syria*

^t *Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 14. § 6. et c. 15. § 1. p. 649, 650.* Interea Ventidius Romanorum dux, missus ad Parthos Syriam arcendos, post illos in Judæam venit, verbis ille quidem, ut Josepho ferret auxilium, re autem vera callidè hoc agebat, ut pecuniam acciperet ab Antigono. Itaq; castris proxime Hierosolyma positis, satis grandem pecuniam obtinuit ab Antigono, atq; ipse discessit cum copiarum parte majori. Ne tamen facinus deprehenderetur, Silonem cum parte nonnulla militum reliquit. Quem etiam ipsum coluit Antigonus, ne quid sibi noceret, sperans iterum Parthos sibi subsidio futuros.

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from the *Parthians*, and until such Time as that General had been in *Judea*, under pretence of relieving *Joseph*, who was close shut up in *Massada*, but in reality to make his Market of *Antigonus*, and to get what Money he could of him. Now we are informed by *Appian* ^v, That *Ventidius* was first sent by *Antony* against the *Parthians*, immediately after the Peace of *Brundisium*, in or about the Month of *September*, *An. U. C.* 714. just as the Winter was coming on ; so that it was impossible for him to get Forces enough together, and to make Head against the *Parthians*, who were then in Possession of all *Syria*, and the greatest Part of *Cilicia*, before the Spring *An. U. C.* 715. And accordingly we find that *Dio* ^w places the Defeat of *Labienus* in *Cilicia*, the Expulsion of the *Parthians* from *Syria*, and the Arrival of *Ventidius* in *Judea*, this Year, *Martio et Sabino Coss.* It is therefore certain, that *Herod* neither did nor could enter upon any Action in *Judea*, till the Spring of the Year 715. at the soonest; but most probably, not before the

^v *De Bello Civili*, p. 709. Mox (scilicet post Pacem *Brundisianam*) ad res urgentes obeundas uterq; amicos dimisit, *Ventidium* in *Asiam* *Antonius*, ut reprimeret *Parthos*, *Labienumq;* &c.

^w *Lib. xlviii.* p. 380—382.

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Summer of that Year was pretty far advanced. Wherefore, supposing that *Herod* set out from *Rome* in *October*, *An. U. C.* 714. immediately after he was declared King by the Senate, it is most certain that the *First Winter*, or the first Six or Seven Months or more, *viz.* from *October*, *An. U. C.* 714. to *May* or *June*, *An. U. C.* 715. must have been wholly taken up in his Voyage from *Rome* to *Ptolemais*; in raising Forces, and making other necessary Preparations at that Place; and in waiting till *Ventidius* had driven the *Parthians* intirely out of *Judea*, and thereby made it safe for him to enter upon Action, and to venture to attempt the Relief of his Friends shut up in *Massada* ^w.

2dly,

^w Lamy is so far from thinking that *Herod* could be in a Condition to make Head against *Antigonus* so soon as the Spring of the Year 715. that he imagines he spent that whole Year in making the necessary Preparations for War. His Words are these: Abiit, ut opinor, Herodi annus ille, dum ornatus regiâ dignitate dimittitur: Invisit amicos; rependit grates; portum petit, parat navim, ventos faventes expectat, conficit navigationem; reparat damna; colligit exercitum, quo instructus postea *Ptolemaidem* appulit, ut narrat *Josephus*. Reliqua pars anni superioris, si aliqua fuerit à die quo rex fuit designatus, non multorum dierum putanda. Brevi autem tempore exercitus non comparatus est à viro, qui spoliatus erat bonis suis, et cui solus regis Titulus datus fuerat. Modo patebit principio hujusce anni (715.) quem attigimus, *Parthos* totam *Syriam*, et ideo *Ptolemaida* subditam tenuisse, quæ jam à Romanis recepta erat, cum in hanc venit. Aliter rem fieri non potuisse constaret, etiamsi *Josephus* non affirmaret *Herodem* non antea appulisse *Ptolemaida*,

2dly, DOES not *Josephus* clearly and expressly inform us *, That *Herod*, in the first Campaign which he made, reduced the greatest Part of *Galilee* to his Obedience? That he took *Joppe*, a Place of considerable Strength? That he raised the Siege of *Massada*? That he incamped before *Jerusalem*; that he put a Garison into *Jericho*; and then sent the *Roman* Troops into Winter-Quarters y? That after this he went himself first to *Samaria*, where he left his Mother and other Relations; then went and subdued all the Robbers of *Galilee*, except such as retreated to, and took

maida, quàm à Ventidio pulsi sunt Syriâ Parthi. In *Apparat. Chronol.* c. vi. § 3. p. 32. But as the learned *Norris* makes *Herod* enter upon Action much sooner than he could possibly be in a Condition to appear in the Field against an Enemy; so, on the other hand, the learned *Lamy* delays it as much too long, by putting off his Arrival at *Ptolemais* to the Year of Rome 716. Hoc tantum anno (viz. 716.) *Herodes* appulit *Ptolemaida*, collectis non mediocribus copiis, tum ex conductitio, tum ex suæ gentis milite. Modò *Parthi* cesserant *Syriâ* victi fugatiq; à *Ventidio*; ante quam fugam, receptamq; à *Romanis* *Syriam*, *Herodes* non ausus esset reverti in *Judæam*, in qua *Antigonus* adjutus favore *Parthorum* regnabat; ergo iterum dicam, non statim ac rex declaratus est, rediit in *Judæam*; sed trivit tempus, et Annum consumpsit in parando Exercitu, dum *Ventidius* *Parthos* profligaret, quod liquidò significat *Josephus*. *Ibid.*

f. 24.

* *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. xiv. c. 15. p. 650—652.

y *Lib.* xiv. c. 15. § 3. p. 651. Et *Rex* quidem, relicto *Hierichunte* præsidio, reversus est: et *Romanum* exercitum in eas regiones, quæ deditionem fecerant, *Idumæam*, et *Galilæam*, et *Samariam*, in hyberna dimisit.

Shelter

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Shelter in Dens and Caves ; and then sent his own Troops into *Winter-Quarters* ^z ? And is not this plainly the Second Winter ? And does not *Josephus* further inform us, That *Mark Antony* came and took up his Residence at *Athens* this very *Winter* ^z ?

3. DOES not *Josephus* further inform us ^b, That as soon as this *Second Winter* was over, *Ventidius* sent Orders to *Silo*, injoining him first to assist *Herod* against *Antigonus*, and then to come with the Forces under his Command into *Syria*, in order to join and strengthen his own Army, which he was then drawing together from all Parts, in order to give Battle to the *Parthians* ? That thereupon *Herod* sent *Silo* away to *Ventidius's* Assistance ; and went himself once more against the Robbers of *Galilee*, and totally subdued them ? That this done, he left *Galilee* under the Care of *Ptolemy*, and went to *Samaria*, with Design to give Battle to *Antigonus* ; but that, being soon after informed that the *Galileans* had revolted again, and killed *Ptolemy*, he returned

^z Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 15. § 4. p. 652. Deinde suis viris centum et quinquaginta argenti drachmas dividit, ducibus autem multò plus, et in hyberna eos dimisit.

^a Id. lib. xiv. c. 15. § 5. p. 652. Sub id tempus Antonius Athenis commorabatur.

^b Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 15. p. 652—656.

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back into *Galilee*, and reduced that Country once more to his Obedience? That while *Herod* was thus employed in *Galilee*, he received (about the Middle of *June*, for we know from *Ovid*, that this Victory was obtained on the 8th of that Month) the welcome News that *Ventidius* had killed *Pacorus*, and intirely destroyed the whole *Parthian* Army? That after this Battle *Ventidius* sent *Machæras* with Two Legions, and a Thousand Horse, to *Herod's* Assistance? That *Herod* finding *Machæras* not much better inclined to favour his Cause than *Silo* had been before, left his Brother *Joseph* with an Army to guard the Country, and went himself first to *Antioch*, and from thence to *Samofata*, to pay a Visit to *Antony*? That during *Herod's* Absence, *Joseph's* Army was defeated, and himself killed? That towards the Close of this Summer *Antony* made Peace with *Antiochus*; raised the Siege of *Samofata*, and made *Sofius* Governor of *Syria*? That upon *Herod's* Return into *Galilee*, he revenged his Brother's Death, retook many Places, and, had it not been for the Severity of the *Winter* ^c, would probably have

^c That *Antony* made Peace with *Antiochus*, and raised the Siege of *Samofata*, late in the Year, and that *Herod* was prevented from taking *Jerusalem* by the Severity of the next ensuing *Winter*, the learned *Noris* himself proves at large,

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have taken *Jerusalem* itself? And is not this plainly the *Third Winter*?

large, Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 144. Scribit vero Plutarchus de Samosatensis, *says he*, *Ob desperationem in audaciam versi, diu Antonium in oppugnatione intentum tenuere.* Ita obsidium in adultam ætatem protractum est. Et paulo post; Herodes summo cum honore ab Antonio dimissus, qui advenientem etiam pari comitate exceperat, apud Daphnem Antiochiæ intellecta nece fratris Josephi, acceptis ab Antonio duabus Legionibus, quædam oppida vi cepit, ac diripuit; dein cum Pappo Antigoni duce signa contulit, atq; hostes ad internecionem cæcidit; *eodemq; victoriæ impetu ad expugnandam Hierosolymam exercitum duxisset; εἰ μὴ χειμῶν ἐπέχε βαδύς*, inquit Josephus, (*lib. xiv. c. 15. § 12. p. 656.*) hoc est, *nisi eum hiems aspera prohibuisset.* Interpres vertit, *Nisi repente valida tempestas irruisset.* Rectè tamen, *lib. i. Belli Jud. c. 13.* ubi eadem historia repetitur, hæc Græca Josephi verba, *εἰ μὴ χειμῶν διεκώλυθη σφοδρότατος*, interpretatur; *Nisi vehementi hieme prohibitus fuisset.* Post tredecim verò versus scribit; *Ἀνέξαστος δὲ τῷ χειμῶνος*, &c. Latine reddit Interpres, *Post hæc ubi tempestas desævit, moto inde exercitu, venit Hierosolymam; et castra prope urbem metatus est, anno tertio postquam Romæ Rex declaratus fuerat.* Hic quoq; ambigua vox *χειμῶν* Interpretem in errorem induxit. At in libro primo Belli cit. ubi eadem narrans ait; *Ἀνέξαστος δὲ τῷ χειμῶνος*, optimè legit; *ubi autem rigor hiemis cessit.* Equidem hyemem instasse rerum eo anno gestarum series evincit. Mense Junio Ventidius cum Pacoro conflixit, cum Antonius Athenis in Asiam transmissurus erat, qui mense Julio in castra apud Samosatam venit. Obsidium verò diu perdurasse auctor est Plutarchus. Etenim cives obstinatâ defensione eò rem adduxere, ut Antonius, oppugnatione omisâ, trecentis duntaxat talentis turpiter acceptis, ab obsidione desisteret. *Igitur usq; in autumnum obsidium protractum fuit.* Cum verò Herodes, deditis Samosatis, Antonium Antiochiam usq; persecutus, binis ab eodem legionibus acceptis, in Palæstinam venerit, ac quinq; oppida haud magni momenti, ac proinde Josepho nequaquam nominata cèpisset, inito cum Pappo certamine, superior evasit. *Harum rerum series exitum autumnii indicat; ac propterea vox χειμῶν apud Josephum, non subitam aeris procellam, sed hiemem instantem designat.*

4. DOES not *Josephus* ^d further inform us, That as soon as this Winter was over, *Herod* came and sat down with his Army before *Jerusalem*? That having made the necessary Dispositions for a formal Siege, he returned to *Samaria*, and married *Mariamne*? That after his Nuptials, *Sosius* came with a great Army to his Assistance; and that they thereupon took the City in the 3^d Month, in the Summer-Time, and in a Sabbatical Year? And from the whole Course of this Narration, what can be more evident than this, That *Herod* made *Three* several and distinct Campaigns, and that there passed *Three* several Winters, between the Time that he was declared King at *Rome*, and the Taking of *Jerusalem* by *Sosius* and himself? Can any Man, who will give himself Leave to consider these Things coolly and impartially, make the least Doubt, whether *Josephus* has rightly, and consistently with himself, placed this great Event in the Consulship of *Marcus Agrippa* and *Caninius Gallus*, and in the 717th Year of *Rome*?

OUR learned Antiquary wonders that nobody before him had observed, That there had

^d Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 15 & 16. p. 656—659.

passed

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passed only *Two Winters* between *Herod's* being declared King at *Rome*, and the taking of *Jerusalem*: But may we not now retort the Argument, and wonder much more in our Turn, How so eminent and accurate a Writer could possibly miss observing, that there must of Necessity have past Three Winters within that Period of Time ^e?

BUT further; What does this great and learned Writer mean by asserting, as he does, That *Antony* took up his Quarters at *Athens* the first Winter after the Peace of *Brundisium* ^f? That *Octavia* was then and there delivered of a Daughter, by *Marcellus* her former Husband ^g? And that the next Summer after this, *viz. An. U. C. 715. Ventidius* killed *Pacorus*, and totally defeated the *Par-*

^e From these Words the Reader may think that I look upon myself as the first that discovered Cardinal Noris's Mistake about the Number of these Winters: And, indeed, when I wrote these Papers, I thought I had been the first; but I find since that I was mistaken; and that with regard to this, as well as some other Particulars relating to this Part of the Controversy, the learned Pagi has been beforehand with me. See his Apparatus Chronol. in Annal. Baronii, p. 16—21. and his Addenda et Corrigenda, pag. 300, 301.

^f Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert. ii. c. 6. p. 141. Antonius vero una cum Cæsare terrestri itinere in urbem rediit, ac paulo post ex Italia discedens, hibernavit Athenis cum Octaviâ, sicut ante (anno superiori) Alexandria cum Cleopatrá — Habemus igitur primam hiemem, postquam Herodes à Romanis regnum obtinuit.

^g Id. ibid. p. 142.

thians?

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thians^h ? Has he any Authority for these Things from *Dio*, or from *Appian*, or from *Plutarch* ? Either I am wholly blind, and cannot see ; or he has intirely, and in every Particular, mistaken and misrepresented every one of these Facts : Nor has the learned *Harmonist* succeeded better in his Account of the Transactions of these Three Years, viz. 715, 716, and 717, in *Syria* ; save only that he rightly places the Taking of *Jerusalem* by *Herod* and *Sosius*, *An. U. C.* 717. *Apparat. Chronol.* c. 6. § 4. p. 36—39.

Do not *Dio*, *Appian*, and *Plutarch* inform us, That, upon the Peace concluded between *Cæsar* and *Antony* at *Brundisium*, *An. U. C.* 714. they made a new Partition of the Provinces between themⁱ ? That *Cæsar* had *Sardinia*, *Dalmatia*, *Hispania*, and *Gallia* ? That *Antony* had all the Provinces beyond the *Ionian* Sea to the River *Euphrates* ? That to cement this new Alliance, *Octavia*, *Cæsar's* Sister, and the Widow of *Marcellus*, was immediately betrothed to *Antony*^k ? That by

^h Id. *ibid.* p. 143.

ⁱ *Dio*, lib. *xlvi.* p. 374.

Appian. de *Bellis Civil.* lib. *v.* p. 709.

Plutarch. in *Antonio*, p. 929.

^k *Appian.* de *Bell. Civil.* lib. *v.* p. 709. *Plutarch.* in *vitâ Antonii*, p. 929.

Agreement,

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Agreement, *Cæsar* was to undertake the War against *Pompey*, who was then in Possession of *Sicily*, and Master of the Seas? That *Antony* was to manage the War against *Labienus* and the *Parthians*? That for this Purpose he immediately dispatched away *Ventidius* into *Asia*¹? That after this, they came both to *Rome*, where they were received, as it were, in Triumph, and had many Marks of Honour conferred upon them by the People, and where *Antony* immediately solemnized his Nuptials with *Octavia*^m? That *Pompey*,
being

¹ Idem ibid. p. 709.

^m Id. de Bell. Civil. lib. v. p. 710. Dio, lib. xlviii. p. 375. Plutarch. in Vita Antonii, p. 929. Ubi placuit utriq; conditio, Romam profecti sunt ad Octaviæ nuptias celebrandas. Note, according to our present Copies of Dio, Octavia is said to have been with Child by her former Husband, when Antony married her; but, as Appian observes, That these Nuptials were agreed upon at Brundisium, and soon after consummated at Rome, without taking any Notice of this Circumstance; and since Plutarch tells us the same, with this farther Circumstance, That the Senate upon this Occasion dispensed with the Law, which obliged Women to continue Widows Ten Months after the Death of their Husbands; and since he is so far from insinuating, that she was at that Time with Child by her former Husband, that he tells us in the very next Page, That she brought Antony a Daughter before he left Italy the next Summer; I am very much inclined to think, that the Text in Dio is corrupted, and that instead of the Words, Καὶ τὴν Ὀκτασίαν τὴν τῷ Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτῆς ἐτετελεύτησε, καὶ κύβαν προμνησεύσαντες; thus translated by Leunclavius, Et Octaviam Cæsaris sororem, marito ejus defuncto, prægnantem tum, Antonio conjugem conciliaverant: We ought to read them thus, Καὶ τὴν Ὀκτασίαν τὴν τῷ Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν, γυναῖκα τῷ

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being left out of the Peace of *Brundisium*, took *Sardinia*, infested the Coast of *Italy*, and intercepted all Provisions coming by Sea to *Rome*? And that thereupon the City being reduced to great Straits, the People murmured, grew extremely troublesome, and at last forced *Cæsar* and *Antony* to offer Terms of Peace to *Pompey*, about the Close of the Year 714.ⁿ?

AGAIN : Do not the same Authors • inform us, That the next Year, viz. *An. U.C. 715*, *Cæsar* and *Antony* imposed sundry Taxes on the People, and advanced many to the Senatorial Dignity, under Pretence of assisting *Antony* in the Expedition which he was then preparing against the *Parthians*? That after this, *Cæsar* and *Antony* went to *Baie*, in order to confer and make up all Matters in Difference with *Pompey*, who then lay with

τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐτετελεύτηκε, καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν ἔσται προμνηστευσάμενοι ; that is, Et Octaviam Cæsaris fororem, marito ejus defuncto, jam Antonio desponsatam, uxorem ei ambierant : That is, the People of Rome, who had heard that Octavius Cæsar had promised his Sister to Antony, when the Peace was made at Brundisium, they were very desirous to see the Nuptials consummated ; hoping, as Plutarch observes, That by such a Cement the Peace between the Brother and the Husband might prove the more lasting.

^a Dio, lib. xlviii. p. 375, 376. Jam in exitu erat annus. Appian. de Bello Civil. lib. v. p. 710, 711.

• Dio, lib. xlviii. p. 377—388. Appian. de Bello Civil. lib. v. p. 712—716.

his

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his Fleet off of *Misenum*? That when they had settled and agreed upon the Terms and Conditions of Peace, and among other Things, that *Pompey* should keep *Sicily*, and have the Government of *Achaia* added to it for Five Years, he withdrew with his Fleet to *Sicily*, and *Cæsar* and *Antony* returned with their Forces by Land to *Rome*? That about *June* or *July*, *An. U. C. 715*. *Octavia*^P brought *Antony* a Daughter? That soon after this he see

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⁹ *Plutarch* tells us expressly, That before *Antony* left *Italy*, *Octavia* brought him a Daughter; in *Vitâ Antonii*, p. 930. *Antonius*, re familiari suâ *Cæsari* mandatâ, *Italiâ* excessit. *Octaviam* in *Græciam* usq; duxit secum, ex quâ jam filiam sustulerat; Οὐγαπίς γεγονότος ἈΤΤΟΙΣ. Now, since *Antony* could not marry *Octavia* till *October*, *An. U. C. 714*; it is evident that *Octavia* could not have this Daughter by him till about *June*, *An. U. C. 715*. and consequently that *Antony* did not leave *Italy* before this Time: Nay, we know certainly from many other Circumstances, that *Antony* remained in *Italy* all the first Winter after the Peace of *Brundisium*; and that the first Winter which he spent with *Octavia* at *Athens*, was that which began in *October* or *November*, *An. U. C. 715*. and ended in *March* or *April*, *An. U. C. 716*. So that nothing can be more surprizing than to see the learned *Noris* affirming, That *Antony* spent the first Winter after the Peace of *Brundisium* at *Athens* with *Octavia*; that she was delivered there of this Daughter; and that it was a Daughter not of *Antony's*, but of *Marcellus* her first Husband: *Cenotaph. Pisani*. p. 142. But, as a further Proof that this was a Daughter by *Antony*, it may be observed, that *Antony* came into *Italy* in the Spring of the Year 717, as appears from *Dio*, lib. xlviii. p. 390. lib. xlix. p. 405. and from *Appian*, De Bell. Civil. lib. v. p. 725. And *Plutarch* observes, (in *Vitâ Antonii*, p. 931.) That at this Time *Octavia* came along with him; that she

K

had

out with her upon his *Parthian Expedition*? That he spent the Remainder of this Summer in *Greece*, partly in taking his Pleasures, and partly in impoverishing the People, because by Agreement that Country was to be yielded up to *Pompey*? That the Winter following, viz. from *October* or *November*, *An. U. C. 715*, to *March* or *April*, *An. U. C. 716*. he took up his Residence at *Athens* with *Octavia*, as he had done formerly at *Alexandria* with *Cleopatra*? And, lastly, That while *Antony* took his Pleasures in *Italy* and *Greece* this Year, *Ventidius* defeated *Labienus* in *Cilicia*; beat the *Parthians*, who guarded the Streights of the *Amanus*; and recovered all *Syria* and *Palestine* without striking another Blow? So *Dio* expressly concludes his Annals for this Year; *hæc eo tempore gesta sunt* ⁹.

FURTHER : Does not *Dio* in the last nine Pages of his 48th Book, and in the first twelve

had then another Daughter by him; and was then with Child again. His Words are these; *Ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν Ὀκταβίαν (συνέπλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῶ) δευθεῖσαν ἀποπέμψει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, Εἰκτον μὲν ὄψαν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ Δεύτερον ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐτάτριον ἔχουσαν*. So that nothing can be more evident, than that the first Daughter which *Plutarch* mentions a little before, was a Daughter of *Antony's*, as well as this second.

⁹ Lib. xlviii. p. 382.

Pages

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Pages of his 49th Book, viz. from *Page* 383 to *Page* 403. *Ed. Han.* 1606. confine his Narration wholly to *Cæsar* and *Antony's* Affairs in *Italy*, and to the Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *An. U. C.* 716, 717, 718. and so forwards to the Death of *Pompey*, *An. U. C.* 719? This done; Does he not return immediately to the Affairs of *Syria*, (*Page* 403—405.) and give us the Continuation of *Ventidius's* Wars in that Country? Does he not tell us, That while *Ventidius's* Troops were as yet in Winter-Quarters, and the Cities of *Syria* in no Condition to defend themselves; he was troubled to hear that *Pacorus* was preparing to come again, with a formidable Army; against him? That he was forced to have Recourse to a Stratagem in order to gain Time; and to be able to get all his Forces together; before the *Parthian* Army passed the *Euphrates*? That as soon as they had passed that River, he gave them Battle; killed *Pacorus* the King's Son; and totally destroyed their whole Army? That soon after this glorious Victory; which, according to *Ovid*^r, was obtained on the 8th Day of *June*, *Ventidius* went and besieged *Antiochus*, King of *Commagene*, in

^r Ad Sextum Iduum Junii. Mors Crassi et suorum. Et Fast. lib. vi. p. 669. Ed. Delph.

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the City of *Samofata* ? That while he lay before that Place, *Antony* came himself, as it were, unexpected; and envying *Ventidius* for the Glory which he had gained, removed him from the Command of the Army, and never employed him afterwards in any other Affair ? That *Antony* finding it more difficult to take the City of *Samofata* than he expected, and suspecting that the Army bore him no Goodwill, on Account of his ill Treatment of *Ventidius*, he patched up a Peace privately with *Antiochus*; raised the Siege of *Samofata*; appointed *Sofius* Governor of *Syria* and *Cilicia*; and then set out on his Return for *Italy* ? Now, from the whole Course of *Dio's* Narration, what can be more evident, than that all these Things were transacted between the *Spring* and *Autumn*, *An. U. C. 716* ? Nay, does not *Dio* himself say so, in so many Words †, *Hæc gesta sunt Claudio & Norbano Coss.* ?

IF it should be alledged that these Words of *Dio* have reference only to the Words immediately preceding them, and that they import no more, but that *Sofius* took *Jerusalem*, and that *Antony* gave the Kingdom of *Judea*

† *Dio*, lib. xlix. pag. 405.

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to one *Herod*, and put *Antigonus*, his Competitor, to Death, this Year, viz. *An. U. C.* 716. I answer in the first Place, That *Dio* had before informed us at large, (*lib. xlviii. p.* 380—382.) how *Ventidius* first beat the *Parthians*, and recovered *Syria* out of their Hands, *Marcio & Sabino Cass. An. U. C.* 715. that he concludes (*p.* 382.) the History of all that Year's Affairs with these Words ; Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ τῷ ἐγένετο ; *hæc eo tempore, vel eo anno gestæ sunt.* That from *Page* 383, *Line* 1, to *Page* 403, *Line* 28, he gives us the History of the Wars, and other Affairs, between *Cæsar*, *Antony*, and *Pompey*, in *Italy* and *Sicily* for the Years of *Rome* 716, 717, and 718. That from *Page* 403 to *Page* 411, he resumes and continues the History of *Antony's* Affairs in the East for the same Number of Years, viz. for the Years of *Rome* 716, 717, and 718. That from *Page* 403, *Line* 29, beginning with these Words, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, &c. to *Page* 405, *Line* 46, ending with these Words, ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῷ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ τῷ τε Νωρβανῷ τῷ ἔτις ἐγένετο *hæc gesta sunt Claudio et Norbano Cass.* he relates the Transactions of the Year 716 in *Syria*; and among others the last total Defeat of the *Parthians* by *Ventidius*. That he tells us, (*Page* 405, *Line* 47.) that *Antony* spent

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all the next Year, viz. the Year 717, in going and coming to and from *Italy*; And, Lastly, That from Page 406, Line 20, to Page 411, Line 23, he gives us the History of *Antony's* Expedition into *Media* and *Armenia*, &c. *An. U. C. 718*. Now, if the learned Reader will take the Trouble to examine these several Particulars with one another, I will then submit it, Whether it is not most evident, that *Dio* places the last total Defeat of the *Parthians* by *Ventidius* in the 716th Year of *Rome*? Whether, by placing it in that Year, he is not perfectly consistent with himself? And whether any Man can place it in any other Year, without making him contradict himself?

BUT, Secondly, Since it is now manifest, That *Dio* places the last total Defeat of the *Parthians* by *Ventidius*, in the Consulship of *Claudius* and *Norbanus*, *An. U. C. 716*; since it must likewise be admitted, That he places the Taking of *Jerusalem* by *Sofius* in the same Year; and since it is further acknowledged on all Hands, That *Jerusalem* was not taken by *Sofius* till the Year after *Ventidius's* Victory; and consequently, that *Dio* must be mistaken with regard to the Time of the one or of the other; the only Question is, How this Mistake

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take is to be rectified? And truly, in my humble Opinion, the Way seems now to lie so plain before us, that I do not see how we can well mistake it. For, since it now appears so plainly from the Course of the History, That the last total Defeat of the *Parthians* by *Ventidius*, is rightly placed by *Dio* in the Year 716, and that it cannot be placed in the preceding or subsequent Year, without making him wilfully and wittingly contradict himself; I humbly think the greatest Favour that he can expect at our Hands, is to say, that he mentions the Taking of *Jerusalem* by *Sosius* only *ὡς ἐν παρόδῳ*, and that he was not so well acquainted with the *Jewish* Affairs about this Time, as to be singly depend'd upon, and much less in Opposition to the Testimony of so considerable a Writer on the other Side, as *Josephus*. For, 1. He tells us, That *Pacorus* having subdued all *Syria*, went into *Palestine*, deposed *Hyrchanus*, whom the *Romans* had set over that Country, and set up *Aristobulus* his Brother in his Place; whereas the Name of the Person whom *Pacorus* set up in the room of the deposed Prince, was *Antigonus*, the Son of this *Aristobulus*; and so *Dio* himself calls him more than once afterwards v.

* *Dio*, lib. *xlvi*. p. 372, 373.

† *Lib. xlviii.* p. 382. *Lib. xlix.* p. 405.

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2. *Dio* says, That *Sosius* took *Jerusalem* on a *Sabbath-Day*, whereas *Josephus* only says that it was taken on a *Fast-Day*. 3. *Dio* says that after *Sosius* had taken the City, *Antony* gave the Kingdom of *Judea* to one *Herod*, Ἡρώδης τριῖς^w: But *Herod* was at this Time so far from being such an obscure Person as this Phrase would make him, that he had made himself well known in *Syria* long before: And it is so far from being true, That *Antony* now conferred the Kingdom of *Judea* upon him, that it is certain he was declared King by the Senate at *Rome*, some Years before. 4. *Dio* says^x, That *Antony* was not only not well pleased with *Ventidius's* Victories, but that he even envied and affronted him for them, and turned him out of all his Employments. But *Plutarch*^y, and *Appian*^z, on the contrary, inform us, That *Antony* respected him so much, that he sent him to *Rome* to receive the Honours of a Triumph for the same, *Ventidium honoratum pro meritis ad triumphum misit*. 5. *Dio* says^a, That *Antony* fastened *Antigonus* to a Cross, then whipped him, and at last killed him; *Antigonum cruci alligatum, flagris cecidit, ac deinde jugulavit*. But *Jo-*

^w Lib. xlix. p. 405.

^x Ibid. p. 404, 405.

^y In Vita Antonii, p. 931.

^z De Bellis Parth. p. 157.

^a Lib. xlix. p. 405.

sephus^b, and *Strabo*, and *Plutarch*^c, make no mention of the Cross, nor of the Whipping; but only assure us, that he caused him to be beheaded, *Securi percussit*. More Instances, perhaps, of *Dio's* Inaccuracy as to the Eastern Affairs about this Time might be produced; but I submit it to the learned Reader, Whether he is not much more excuseable for any Slips which he may have made, in relation to Matters not so directly within his View, than they who would now set up his single Authority in such Matters against *Josephus*, who wrote long before him, who wrote professedly upon the *Jewish* Affairs; and who has given us all the Particulars of the Siege of *Jerusalem* at large? I have dwelt the longer upon this Argument, because I find the learned *Noris* lays a very great Stress upon it.

THE same excellent and highly esteemed Writer makes use of another Argument in Favour of his Hypothesis, which I could wish to be excused from mentioning; but since he is pleased to represent it as a very formidable one^d, and as a distinguishing Character of the

^b Antiq. Lib. xv. c. i. p. 661.

^c In Vita Antonii, p. 932.

^d *Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert.* ii. c. 6. p. 161. Prolixiori hucusq; de Annis Regni ac Vitæ Herodis disputatione peractâ,

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the Times; perhaps I might incur some Blame, if I should conclude this Essay without taking any

actâ, ad Caium ac Lucium Cæsares redeo; à quibus tamen validissimum argumentum desumo, quo Herodiani Principatus Epochâ, mihi superius firmata, demonstratur. Auctor est Josephus filios Herodis, de paterni regni successione litigantes, Romam ad Augustum integram causam detulisse; Augustum vero in amicorum concilio rem discussisse; Nicolao Damasceno Archelai causam defendente. Hæc de Augusto scribit Josephus, *lib. xvii. c. 12.* Interprete Gelenio: *Amicos in consilium advocat, et in his Caium, Agrippæ & Juliae filiae suæ filium, jam à se adoptatum, primum ei locum in consistorio tribuens.* Hoc judicium habitum est An. U. C. 751. Ita ut nec in annum superiorem, nec in quempiam proximè insequentium protrahi possit. Primum illud infertur ex Annis Herodis; siquidem A. U. 750. mense Octobris, complevit annum Regni à Romanis dati 36. Quare, etiamsi vixisset alterum mensem, ac decessisset die circiter 25 Novembris, inito anno trigesimo septimo, quæ est Usserii sententia, causa successionis Regni An. U. C. 751. agitata fuisset. Nam Archelaus, celebrato apud Hierosolymam Paschate, Romam navigavit ad Augustum. Alterum verò, nempe memoratum judicium in proximos annos, quod pro arbitrio faciunt vulgò scriptores, protrahi non posse, eo manifestè ostenditur, quòd unus Caius Cæsar inter iudices sedere jussus est. Anno Urbis proximo 752. Lucius Cæsar Virilem Togam induit, ac omnibus honoribus exornatus est, quos die sui tyrocinii Caius ejusdem frater ante triennium tulerat; et sanè eidem permissum fuerat, *ut in Senatum iret*, ex Dione, *lib. lv.* et in Excerptis à Zonara. Quare, si judicium illud habitum fuisset A. U. 752. aut quopiam insequentium, Augustus Lucium quoq; Cæsarem ad idem judicium accersivisset, quòd præsertim Lucius erat eo anno Consul designatus: Superius verò Cap. 2. pluribus veterum testimoniis ostendi, Consules designatos ut plurimum sententiam ante alios rogari solitos. Neque fingi potest Lucius ab eo judicio ab Augusto, quòd esset junior, exclusus fuisse. Nam erat Princeps juventutis, Consul designatus, in Augurum idem Collegium cooptratus, omnibus deniq; honorum titulis Caio majori natu fratri æquatus. Quas quidem tum sacras tum profanas

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any Notice of it. From the History of *Caius Caesar*, says he, it appears, That *Archelaus*, *Antipas*, and *Philip*, came to *Rome*, submitted their several Pretensions to, and pleaded their Cause before *Augustus*, *An. U. C. 751*. And therefore he concludes, That *Herod* their Father must have died *An. U. C. 750*. But how, I pray, does it appear from the History of *Caius*, That those Three Princes came to *Rome*, and pleaded their Cause before *Augustus*, *An. U. C. 751*, rather than *An. U. C. 752*? Why, *Caius* was elected Consul about the Close of the Year 748, but was not to hold the Office till after the Expiration of 5 Years; and on the 1st Day of *January*, *An. U. C. 749*, he had likewise the *Toga Virilis* given him, and was publicly declared of Age, or to be come to Man's Estate. And about the Close of the Year 751, and on the 1st Day of *January*, *An. U. C. 752*, *Lucius* had the same Honours conferred on him; and by Virtue of these Honours they both had a Right

profanas dignitates eidem Augustus contulerat, nè qua inter filios invidia erumperet; cui sane aditum Princeps aperuisset, si admissio Caio, Lucium pari cum illo dignitate praeditum à memorato consilio exclusisset. *This is the Argument at large, and in the Author's own Words. And thus from the History of Caius Cæsar, he gives us a distinguishing Character: Insignem Characterem Anni Obitus Herodis, as he expresses it in the Contents prefix'd to this Chapter.*

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to a Seat in the Senate, and to be present at all the public Councils. Very well: I grant all this likewise. But how can it be proved from hence, That the Three *Jewish* Princes came to *Rome*, and pleaded their Cause before *Augustus*, *An. U.C. 751*? Why, in the first Hearing which those Princes had before *Augustus*, *Josephus* mentions *Caius* as one of the Assessors with *Augustus*, but makes no Mention of *Lucius* as one of them: And therefore our learned Antiquary concludes, That this Hearing must have been had *An. U.C. 751*. before *Lucius* was elected Consul, and declared to be of Age. But, with great Submission, I think this does not necessarily follow. For, supposing this first Hearing to have been had in *May* or *June*, *An. U.C. 752*. as I have placed it; I would then ask, Was it a Public Hearing before the Senate? Or was it a Private one before *Augustus*? The latter, most certainly: For all the Matters in Dispute here, related solely to One of the Provinces, which he had reserved in his own Disposal. Supposing then that *Caius* and *Lucius*, by Virtue of their being Consuls Elect, or otherwise, had a Right to a Seat in the Senate, and to be present at all the Public Councils; Does it follow that they could claim it as their Right, to be present at the Hearing of such a Cause

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Cause as this ? Surely, no Man will say they had : The Senate itself had no Right at this Time to intermeddle in such an Affair. Was not *Augustus* then perfectly at Liberty to summon *Caius* or *Lucius*, or both, or neither, just as he thought fit, and that without giving any just Offence to the one or the other ? Yes, undoubtedly. Or, Might not *Lucius* be absent, or out of Order, or otherwise engaged at the Time that *Augustus* admitted the *Jewish* Princes to a Private Hearing ? And might not this be the Reason why he was not present at it ?

BUT further : Supposing *Lucius* to have been in *Rome*, and in perfect Health, and no otherways employed at the Time ; Was not *Caius* then shortly designed to be sent against the *Parthians*, and other Eastern Nations, who had revolted from the *Romans* ? And therefore, when the Cause of these Eastern Princes was to be heard and tried before *Augustus*, might not this be a good Reason why *Caius* might be particularly summoned to be present at it ? And why *Lucius*, who was then but about 15 Years old, and was intended to be sent into another Part of the Empire, might be omitted or excused ?

To conclude : I would be glad to be informed, how it can be proved that *Lucius* was not present at the Private Hearing of the Three Jewish Princes, as well as *Caius* ? *Josephus* mentions Two Hearings ; the first Private ^e ; and the other Public, in the Temple of *Apollo* ^f. In his Account of the First, he says indeed, That *Caius* was present, and that he sat in the First Seat. But because *Josephus* does not say, That *Lucius* was there, nor that he was placed in the Second Seat ; Must we therefore necessarily conclude that he was not there at all ? If this be a fair Way of Reasoning, then by the same Rule we must conclude, That neither the one nor the other of them was present at the Public Hearing in the Temple of *Apollo* ^g. I will therefore

^e Antiq. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 9. p. 775.

^f Ibid. c. 13. p. 783.

^g Some of the Roman Writers, as the learned Cardinal well observes, (*Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 253.*) inform us, That when *Tiberius* applied to *Augustus* for Leave to return from *Rhodes* to *Rome*, *An. U. C. 755.* *Augustus* would not grant his Request, till he acquainted *Caius* with it, and had his Consent. But they say nothing of *Lucius*, nor that his Consent was asked upon this Occasion. Shall we therefore conclude, that *Lucius* was dead before *Tiberius* asked Leave to return ? According to the learned *Noris's* Way of Reasoning, we may as well conclude that he was dead at this Time, as that he was not declared of Age, or not elected Consul, or not present at the First Hearing of the Three Jewish Princes.

leave it to the other Side, to take their Choice: For, if they admit that *Caius* was present at the Public Hearing in the Temple of *Apollo*, notwithstanding that *Josephus* is intirely silent upon that Head; then by the same Rule they must admit, that *Lucius* might have been present at the First Hearing, tho' *Josephus* has not expressly told us that he was. But if from the Silence of *Josephus* in one Case, we may conclude, That the Dispute between the Three *Jewish* Princes was a Matter of that Indifference to *Caius*, who was then just upon the Point of setting out upon his Eastern Expedition, that he did not think it worth his while to attend at the Public Hearing; then what hinders but that we may likewise, *à fortiori*, conclude, That *Lucius*, who was then intended to be sent to command in the Western Parts of the Empire, might not think it at all necessary, or worth his while, to attend at either of these Hearings?

I HAVE now gone thro' the several Heads which I proposed to consider, with regard to the History of the *Birth* and *Infancy* of the *Holy* and *Ever-blessed JESUS*. I have shewn by what Steps we are naturally led to place his Birth on the 25th Day of *December*, *An. U. C.* 750. I have shewn that no material Objection can be
made

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made to the Placing it in that Year, and on that Day ; and I have shewn that by placing it in that Year, and on that Day, all and every of the Circumstances mentioned by the *Holy Evangelists*, *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*, may be fairly accounted for. And all that I shall presume to offer further upon this *Great and Adorable Mystery* of GOD *made manifest in the FLESH*, is only most humbly to beseech him, That he would be mercifully pleased shortly to accomplish that great Work for which he came into the World in this low and humble State ; the *Redemption* of the *fallen Race of Adam*, and the *Restoration* of all Things.

Εὐλογητός ὁ Θεὸς τῆς Ἀληθείας.

London, the 29th
of May, 1737.

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